ARABIC AND ISLAMIC STUDIES
IN HONOR OF
HAMILTON A. R. GIBB

Fabian Bachrach

ARABIC AND ISLAMIC STUDIES IN HONOR OF HAMILTON A. R. GIBB

EDITED BY

GEORGE MAKDISI

LEIDEN
E. J. BRILL
1965

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Published in the U.S.A. and Canada by the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Literatures, Harvard University. Distributed by Harvard University Press

PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS BY E. J. BRILL, LEIDEN

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EDITOR'S NOTE

For the sake of uniformity, all foreign words and phrases found in Webster's Third New International Dictionary are not italicized. Their spelling as well as that of all the texts written in English is standardized according to this dictionary. Some familiar proper nouns are written without diacritics. Abbreviations have been avoided as much as possible in the body of the texts. Although uniformity was aimed at throughout in the matter of transliteration, deviation was allowed where it served the needs of certain studies, as in the case of linguistics, Ottoman Turkish, Indian Islam and Modern Persian. Arabic texts did not all receive the same kind of editorial attention. Articles written in Arabic were, like those written in Western languages, susceptible of editorial modification; on the other hand, a few modifications of a conventional nature only were brought to those Arabic texts which were offered by the authors as critical editions.

The Editor wishes to take this opportunity of expressing his special thanks to Messrs. Thomas J. Wilson, Director of the Harvard University Press and Derwood W. Lockard, Associate Director of the Center for Middle Eastern Studies, Harvard University, and Miss Elizabeth Randolph, Administrative Secretary of the Center, for their assistance in matters regarding the publication of this Volume; to Misses Carol Cross and Brenda Sens, Secretaries of the Center, who typed all the texts and assisted in the proof-reading, in spite of an already heavy work schedule; and of course, to the authors themselves, colleagues and students of Sir Hamilton Gibb, for their enthusiastic response and ready cooperation, making possible this Presentation Volume of Arabic and Islamic studies.

LETTER OF DEDICATION

Dear Sir Hamilton,

The few words which I have been asked to set forth as an introduction to the traditional Festschrift which is offered to you on the occasion of your seventieth birthday are justified only by the fact that I have attained that fatal goal several years ahead of you. I believe myself to be the oldest, or one of the oldest, among your fellow-students, a seniority which, although it makes me sad on account of the thought of having spent a long life with no sizable profit to the advance of scholarship, I must now consider as a happy one, since it gives me the opportunity to bear witness to the dawn of your brilliant career, at a time when you were still "the young Professor Gibb".

With mixed feelings of pleasure and melancholy I keep in my mind the recollection of our first meeting and of the long talk which I had with you and the late Arent Jan Wensinck at the latter's home in Leiden, Netherlands, in September, 1931. You had just been appointed, in spite of your young age, as a successor to Sir Thomas Arnold on the editorial board of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*: a task, incidentally, which you took up and carried on with your customary thoroughness to the advantage of that great enterprise. Although you were by far the youngest of us—Wensinck was fifteen years older than you, and I was nine—your experience of the Islamic world, past and present, appeared to be more extensive and more intimate than ours. Ever since your early years you had traveled wide parts of it, both as an alert tourist and a seriously engaged student, and had fully realized the impossibility of attaining adequate understanding of the ancient civilization of Islam without a deep insight into the contemporary Moslem society, and, reciprocally, the necessity, in order to grasp an exact picture of its present, to become intimately acquainted with its nature during its remote past.

In the long course of your life as a scholar and a teacher you have lived up punctiliously to this all-embracing concept of the study of Islam, as is evinced by an imposing number of items in your bibliography. But already in the earliest products of your pen the manifoldness of your learned curiosity shows up in full light. To be sure, your first important achievement, *The Arab Conquests in Central Asia*, of 1923, is a monograph on a well defined subject, which is treated according to the strictest standards of erudite research; however, the historico-geographical environment out of which the events retraced in your book have developed aroused your interest in certain delicate problems concerning the correlations between heterogeneous national groups and the concordance, or discordance, of the historical data which proceed from such different quarters as Arab and Chinese sources. This kind of research proved excellent training and supplied you with the ability to identify and evaluate the various components of Islamic civilization.

Within a few years from the appearance of *The Arab Conquests* you produced a number of significant items which, although they dealt apparently with totally different subjects, actually were instrumental in clarifying and corroborating the distinctive character of your scholarly work. The small sized *Arabic Literature* claims to be a book of vulgarization: actually, each of its pages reveals direct knowledge of and independent judgment on the immense amount of documents upon which it is based. With the completion of that standard work, *Studies in Contemporary Arabic Literature*, whose first instalment appeared in 1928, you ranked incontestably, together with Kratchkowsky and Kampffmeyer, with the few Western Arabists who had become aware, at an early date, of the role which the new literary trends were to play in the tremendous upheavel of the Arab and Islamic world in the twentieth century. Only one year later, you surprised your fellow-students by bringing forth another important achievement of an entirely different line: the masterful presentation of a series of selected passages translated from the Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, where the loving care with which you accompany the fourteenth-century Moroccan globe-trotter in his wanders reveals the longing of the twentieth-century European student for the attainment of intimate acquaintance with the Islamic world not only through the medium of books but also through immediate and unbiased experience. May I add that the general desire for an unabridged translation of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's report, with such an annotation as only you were in a position to add to it, began to be fulfilled almost thirty years later, and has not yet reached its end. It is the warmest wish of us all that you may be given vigor and leisure enough to give the last touch to that glorious work.

It lies outside of my aim to follow the further steps of your career.

I only wanted to call attention to the fact that since the very beginning of your activity you have clearly marked the paths upon which you would tread during your further advance. If some change, formal rather than substantial, took place in your attitude towards the study of Islam, it seems to consist of a keener interest in the major problems concerning politics, sociology and religion rather than in literature and art. You have succeeded, better perhaps than any other student of Islam, in singling out its specific attitude towards religion, which is the more difficult to grasp in its essential signification inasmuch as it looks simple and unequivocal in its formulation; and you have recognized how much this attitude has been jeopardized by the radical shift which the Islamic society has taken as a consequence of the impact of the West and the awakening of certain latent energies which had been dormant for many centuries. The modern and modernistic trends which have shown up in the present century have been carefully identified and analyzed by you not only in their religious, but also in their social and political bearing. Whilst many so-called experts on Middle Eastern affairs are at a loss to support their contentions with sound information about their historical background, your unsurpassed familiarity with the events of the past and with ancient political theories and efforts, from the very beginning of the Caliphate until a later age, has allowed you to understand the present correctly and also, up to a certain point, to foresee the future.

If I am not totally mistaken, the originality of your work, which makes you rank with the most prominent Islamic scholars of all ages, resides in the perfect balance which you kept between the study of ancient and contemporary Islam, and in your firm and continuous consciousness of the fundamental unity of Islamic civilization. Balance and measure are indeed the most conspicuous features in your personality. But you have also succeeded in joining the qualities of a teacher, an organizer and an adviser with those of an accomplished scholar. The hundreds of young men and women who were initiated by you to the study of Arabic and Islam, the many students, young and less young, whom you have generously advised and helped in the preparation of articles and books, and finally the sundry scholarly enterprises which you have suggested, patronized and fostered in Great Britain and the rest of Europe, in the United States and in the Middle East, all bear witness to your lofty concept of the role assigned to scholarship in our age: far from seeing in it a selfish exercise of the individual mind, carried over in solitary aloofness, you consider and practise it as a cooperative service aiming at the progress of mankind.

This sketchy and utterly inadequate draft of your personality would be even more incomplete than it actually is if I did not close it, my dear Gibb (if I may be allowed to shift to the familiar salutation which I have been using with you over so many years), by reminding those who know, and informing those who do not, that the man in you equals the scholar, and that if the immense learning of the former has found international recognition, the wide human understanding, the unflinching benevolence and the faithful friendship of the latter have secured you everlasting esteem and deep affection from all those who have had the good fortune of approaching you. This collection of papers presented to you by your disciples, colleagues and friends from various parts of the world is intended as an acknowledgment of the eminence of your scholarship as well as a token of deep friendship and a most sincere wish for the continuance of your activity in the future as a leader and an inspirer in the field of Arabic and Islamic studies.

G. Levi Della Vida

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICE

Sir Hamilton Alexander Roskeen Gibb was born in Alexandria, Egypt, January 2, 1895. His father, Alexander Crawford Gibb, a son of John Gibb of Gladstone, Renfrenshire, Scotland, was at the time farm manager for the Aboukir Land Reclamation Company. After his father's death in 1897, his mother, Jane Ann Gardner, from Greenock, Scotland, moved into Alexandria and took a teaching post in the Church of Scotland Girl's School. Hamilton, at the age of five, was sent back to Scotland for his formal education. He had four years of private teaching, after which he entered the Edinburgh Royal High School, in 1904, where he remained until 1912. During this period he twice spent a summer vacation in Egypt. His education was on the classical side, but he received also a good education in French, German, and the physical sciences, and finished as Dux of the Royal High School. In 1912, he entered Edinburgh University, and in his first year there joined the newly created honors program in Semitic Languages, with Hebrew, Arabic and Aramaic. The Professor of Hebrew, A. R. S. Kennedy, was for him an effective teacher, but he found Arabic, taught by a young lecturer, Edward Robertson (afterwards Professor of Semitic Languages at Manchester, and still active), a more exciting subject. His mother died in 1913 while he was in his second year at Edinburgh.

Edinburgh University had at the time, like all British Universities, a section of the Officers' Training Corps, of which the Battery was its chief pride. He applied and was accepted for the Battery, and his keen interest was evident in his assiduous attendance at drills and camps. At the outbreak of war in 1914, the Battery volunteered for service as a unit, but the offer was refused and almost all its personnel were commissioned in artillery regiments. Now 19 years of age, young Hamilton was commissioned in the Battery itself, which was turned into an Artillery Officers' Training Unit, and remained with it as an instructor until he was transferred at his own request to the South Midland Brigade, which went out to France in February 1917. His war service continued in France, with some months in Italy, until after the Armistice of 1918.

In the summer of 1919 he applied for a war degree from Edinburgh University and entered the London School of Oriental Studies in the graduate (M.A.) program in Arabic, receiving the degree in the spring of 1922. He had already been appointed as lecturer in the fall of 1921 and continued thereafter as assistant to Professor (Sir) Thomas Arnold. In 1922 (July 12) he married the former Helen Jessie Stark, whom he had first met when he was sent to Scotland at the age of five. They have two children, Ian (b. 1923) and Dorothy (b. 1926, now Mrs. J. Greenslade). In 1926-27 he made his first lengthy visit to the Middle East and took the opportunity to begin the study of contemporary Arabic literature; he had previously spent two vacations in North Africa. In 1929 he was appointed Reader in Arabic History and Literature, and in 1930, on the death of Professor (Sir) Thomas Arnold, he was appointed to the Chair of Arabic. He also replaced Sir Thomas as English editor of the *Encyclopedia of Islam*, serving as such until 1955 and meanwhile becoming one of the original editors of the completely revised edition.

He was Professor of Arabic at the University of London from 1930 to 1937, and Laudian Professor of Arabic at St. John's College, Oxford University from 1937 to 1955. In 1955 he joined the Harvard faculty as University Professor and James Richard Jewett Professor of Arabic, and two years later assumed the directorship of the Center for Middle Eastern Studies. In 1964 he retired from the teaching faculty at Harvard as University Professor, Emeritus, and James Richard Jewett Professor of Arabic, Emeritus. He continues his leadership of the Center he has directed since 1957, dividing his time between Cambridge, Massachusetts and his home in Oxford, England.

His principal publications in chronological order are as follows: *The Arab Conquests in Central Asia* (London, 1923); *Arabic Literature* (London, 1926; Revised edition, Oxford, 1963); *Ibn Battuta, Travels in Asia and Africa* (London, 1929); *Damascus Chronicles of the Crusades* (London, 1932); *Modern Trends in Islam* (The Haskell Lectures in Comparative Religion delivered at the University of Chicago in 1945; Chicago, 1947); *Mohammedanism* (London, 1949; Second edition, 1962); *Islamic Society and the West*, Vol. I (Part 1, London, 1950; Part 2, London, 1957) with H. Bowen; *The Travels of Ibn Battuta* (Cambridge, Vol. I, 1958, Vol. II, 1961); *Studies on the Civilization of Islam* (edd. S. J. Shaw and W. R. Polk, Boston, 1962). At the time of this writing, he is working on the last two chapters of Vol. III of *The Travels of Ibn Battuta.*

Sir Hamilton was created Knight Bachelor (United Kingdom in 1954); Commander of Orange-Nassau (Netherlands); Legion of

Honor (France). He is Fellow of the British Academy, the Danish Academy, the American Philosophical Society, and Honorary Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and the Mediaeval Academy of America. He is Member of The Academy of Arabic Language, Cairo, Associate Member of the Institut d'Egypte, and Honorary Member of the Arabic Academy, Damascus, and of the Arabic Academy of Iraq.

GEORGE MAKDISI

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COMPILED BY

STANFORD J. SHAW

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ABBREVIATIONS

BSOAS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies
BSOS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies
EB	Encyclopaedia Britannica
EI	Encyclopaedia of Islam
EI²	Encyclopaedia of Islam: New Edition
GJ	Geographical Journal
IA	International Affairs
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JCAS	Journal of the Central Asian Society
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
JTS	Journal of Theological Studies
MEJ	Middle East Journal
MW	Muslim World
Studies	Studies on the Civilization of Islam by H. A. R. Gibb (Boston and London, 1962)

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A NEW PAPYRUS
AND A REVIEW OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF ʿUBAID ALLĀH B. AL-ḤABḤĀB

BY

NABIA ABBOTT

The following communication from Dr. Smith is self-explanatory:

> The papyrus was found in 1959 in the Khan Khalil of Cairo by Dr. Myron Bement Smith, who borrowed it from the dealer to show to his friend, Dr. Muhammad Mostafa, Director of the Cairo Museum of Islamic Art, who immediately recognized it as a rare and early document, an opinion corroborated by Mr. Ahmad M. Hamdy, Curator of Arabic books and MSS in the Museum. Learning that the Museum would like the papyrus for its collections, Dr. Smith then proposed to purchase it for that purpose, but asked that he first have the privilege to offer it for publication to has former teacher (the present writer), a request to which Dr. Mostafa graciously acceded. The papyrus has since been forwarded to the American Embassy in Cairo for presentation to the U.A.R. Government on behalf of the American Research Center in Egypt, of which Dr. Smith is a Trustee.

The date of the papyrus, 23 Rabīʿ I 106/19 August 724, definitely places it in the administration of ʿUbaid Allah b. al-Ḥabḥāb (105-16/724-34). His name and that of one or more of his subordinate officers doubtless appeared in the now lost upper section of the document. The provenance of the papyrus is unknown. It probably comes from either the Fayyum or from Aphrodito, the modern Kum Ishqaw, in Upper Egypt, from which two places have come most of the Arabic papyri.

Description. This is a fine quality, medium brown papyrus that measures 38.6 × 20.6 cm. The upper part, about one third of the originally complete document, and a narrow strip of from three to four cms. at the left are lost. The upper section of the papyrus is considerably damaged with loss of text.

Script. The script of the papyrus, like its size and format, is very similar to that of several of the Qurra papyri which are dated fifteen and sixteen years earlier. Since the script of these earlier documents has been fully discussed elsewhere by the writer, [2] it will suffice here

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[1] *The Ḳurrah Papyri from Aphrodito in the Oriental Institute* (Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization, n° 15 [Chicago, 1930], 33-39, especially 36. Hereafter cited

to draw attention only to the few peculiarities of the penmanship of Khālid, the scribe of the papyrus. The hand is almost elegant and is, for the most part, readily legible. Nevertheless, it has marked irregularities in the size and form of many of the letters, especially *alif*, *ṣād*, *kāf*, and *nūn*. It fails to distinguish adequately between similar letters that occur successively in a word, especially *bā'* and its siters along with medial *nūn* and *yā'*. Another of Khālid's practices is his writing the initial letter or two of a word over the loop of a separate of final *lām* or *nūn* of the preceding word, yet with only an occasional overcrowding, as at the beginning of line 11. The practice, nevertheless, does give a certain imbalance to the script with its many extensions of the several letters already mentioned above. The poor execution of the first *sīn* in line 14 seems to be a momentary lapse into carelessness.

This is the third early scribe named Khālid to come to the writer's attention. The first who was active in 61-62/680-82 need not detain us. The second Khālid, one of a dozen known scribes of Qurra b. Sharīk, was most probably the copyist of a document dated 91/710. Unfortunately only a part of the central strip of the text of this document has survived, and though published the document is not reproduced. [1] This document and the present papyrus may have come, despite the fifteen years that separate them, from the hand of one and the same Khālid. It must be noted, on the other hand, that Khālid is a fairly common name.

1 الى القـ[ـر]ى
2 والجبايـ[ـه] اليـ[ـنا]
3 عنهم ما قد علمـ[ـت]
? ? ?
4 وقد بلغنى ان لبعضهم صـ[. .]ـحا ورزق حـ[ ]
5 هـ[ـم] فارقوها واشخصوا عنها صـ[ـلحاً]
6 [ما] دخلت عليهم فى ذلك مثبت[لك]
7 فاخر من كان له قلك منهم زرع [حتى]
8 يفرغوا من حصادهم ورفع عليهم [فارفعه]

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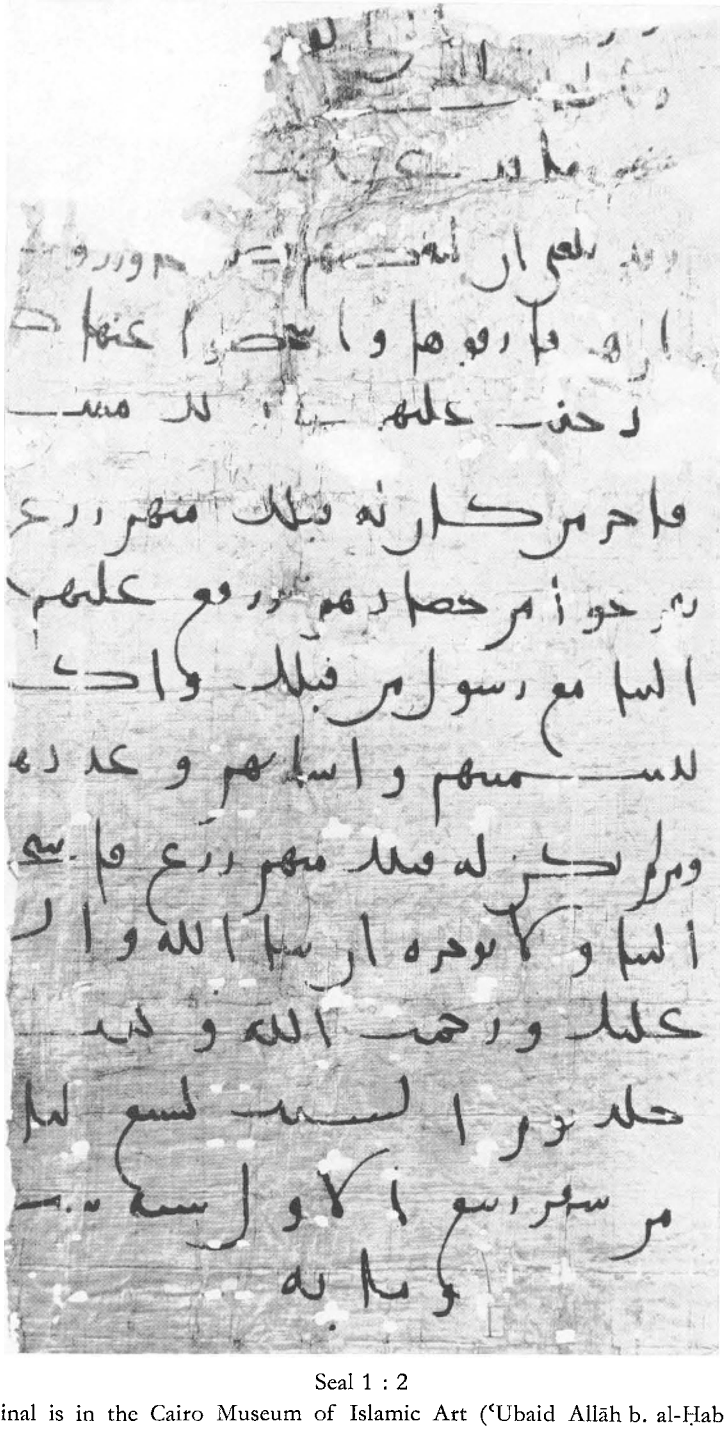
as *KPA*. For additional documents of this group see Adolf Grohmann, *Arabic Papyri in the Egyptian Library* (hereafter, *APEL*), III (Cairo, 1938), n^{os} 146-159.

[1] *APEL*, III, 41-43, n^{o} 159, lines 17 f. The spacing of these two lines calls for a more probable reconstruction to read "Written by So-and-so and copied by Khālid," a not uncommon practice as seen in, for example, *op. cit.*, n^{os} 154-155 and *KPA*, n^{o} III.



Seal 1 : 2
Original is in the Cairo Museum of Islamic Art (ʿUbaid Allāh b. al-Ḥabḥāb)

9 الينا مع رسول من قبلك واك[تب]
10 بتسميتهم وابنياتهم وعدده[م]
11 ومن لم يكن اه قبلك منهم زرع فاشخ[صه]
12 الينا ولا توخره ان شا الله والس[لم]
13 عليك ورحمة الله وكت[ب]
14 خلد يوم السبت لسبع ليا[ل بقين]
15 من شهر ربيع الاول سنة س[ت]
16 ومايه

1 [ ] to the villag[es
2 and the taxes to us [
3 about them what you (already) know [
4 I have been informed that some of them (the workmen) have been given [one or two words] and maintenance allowance [one word]
5 should they separate themselves from it (land or village) and depart from it peacefully.
6 Whatever you spend on them on that account is assured to you.
7 Detain those of them who are with you who have grainland [until]
8 they are through with their harvesting and (with the delivery of) their tax assessment. Transmit it (the tax)
9 to us with your emissary. Write down
10 their (the workmen's) names and their buildings and their number.
11 And he, among those who are with you, who has no grainland have him sent
12 to us and do not detain him, God willing. And peace be
13 upon you and the grace of God. Written by
14 Khālid, saturday seven nigh[ts remaining]
15 of the month of Rabīʿ the First, year s[ix]
16 and (one) hundred

Comments.—Lines 1-3. The size, style and content of the document are of the type usually used at that time by either the Governor or the Director of Finances of Egypt in addressing the financial administrators of a district with its many villages. The Qurra papyri already cited furnish ample illustrations of this type of high level correspondence.

Lines 4—6. Requisitions of farmers and laborers, for local or distant service were frequent and extensive. The service though compulsory was not, as a rule, free. Payment consisted of regular wages and food rations (see for example, Carl H. Becker, *Papyri Schott-Reinhardt* . . . I [Heidelberg, 1906], n° III, lines 14, 29, 39, and n° VIII, line 7). For a summary of such practices see for example British Museum, *Greek Papyri* . . . IV, *The Aphrodito Papyri*, ed. H. I. Bell (London, 1910) pp. xxxi-iv; Daniel C. Dennett, *Conversion and the Poll Tax in Early Islam*, Harvard Historical Monographs XXII (Cambridge, 1950), chap. 5.

Independent workers who changed residence needed a passport indicating the payment of their poll tax and permission to work in the new locality. Such a permit, dated 112/731, was issued by one of ʿUbaid Allāh b. al-Ḥabḥāb's officials (see B. Moritz, *Arabic Palaeography* [Cairo, 1905] Pl. 106, and *APEL*, III, n° 175, where the correct reading for line 8 is "the year thirteen" [not sixteen]; compare also Dennett, 81ff.).

Lines 6-9. Farmers were seldom taken off the land before harvest time. The collection of the taxes, much of which was payment in kind, waited on the harvest (compare for example, *KPA*, nos II, IV).

Lines 9-10. Local officers were required to keep a register of the male population and of their dwellings and land holdings. This information was drawn on by the central administration for the periodic general census and land survey (see H. I. Bell "Translation of the Greek Aphrodito papyri in the British Museum," *Der Islam*, II [1911], 273-275; Dennett, 94, 96 ff., 104).

Lines 11-12. Artisans and unskilled laborers were requested as needed (see comment on lines 4-6).

Lines 12-13. Note the use of the open final *tā*ʾ in *raḥmat*. This form of greeting was addressed to fellow Muslims. That used for non-Muslims was "And peace be on those who follow the right guidance" (see for example *KPA*, n° III).

Lines 13-16. The reconstruction in line 14 does not unduly crowd the end of that line, since the *bā*ʾ and *qāf* of the last word fit well into the loop of the final *lām* of *liyāl*. For this peculiarity of Khālid's hand and for Khālid himself see the comment above on the script of the papyrus.

Such precise and complete dating by day, month, and year is comparatively rare. Documents issued in the second half of a month were dated by the number of days or nights still remaining in the month (see for example Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Ṣūlī, *Adab al-kuttāb* [Baghdad, 1922î, 180-183. For other sources and papyri so dated see for example *APEL*, II, 192, 197).

THE POLITICAL CAREER OF ʿUBAID ALLĀH B. AL-ḤABḤĀB

The opportunity to publish the present papyrus has led the writer to re-examine the pertinent sources that bear on ʿUbaid Allāh's long and varied political career, in an effort to gain an integrated view of its three phases—the Syrian, the Egyptian, and the North African. The man and his administrations are repeatedly met with in the primary sources both early and late. Western scholars have picked up his trail from time to time largely with the aid of the material remains from his Egyptian administration. These consist of many glass stamps for weights and measures [1] and of a few though more significant papyri. [2] The few who have been interested in his North African career usually ignore or barely mention his earlier activities. Furthermore, such basic points as the initial or terminal dates of his appointments, the limits of his authority, and the character of his administrations have remained uncertain and subject to controversy. Our attention will center, therefore, on his chronology, on the complex forces that first raised him to power, on those that sustained him and influenced his politics, and on those that finally brought about his political downfall and personal tragedy.

Little is known of ʿUbaid Allāh's family backgrounds beyond that which is indicated in his identification as ʿUbaid Allāh b. al-Ḥabḥāb b. al-Ḥārith al-Mauṣilī, client of the Banū Salūl of the tribe of Qais. [3] His grandfather had been manumitted by a little-known Salūlī named Ḥajjāj. Nothing is known of his father whose very name, Ḥabḥāb, [1] lacks fixity in the sources. ʿUbaid Allāh himself first comes into view as a full-fledged imperial secretary, in the service of the caliph Hishām and with a reputation for marked kindness towards the Christians. Perhaps his family had a Christian background (see below). It would seem safe to conclude that ʿUbaid Allāh was a self-made man with no political connections or over-riding loyalties that could either speed or hinder a political career of his own choice. Unlike many clients of the period who sought to climb to positions of power on the ladder of religious scholarship, ʿUbaid Allāh, like many others, sought a career in the Imperial Secretariat at Damascus. The early stages of his secretarial career are not recorded. But, with his humble backgrounds, he must have had to go through them patiently and brilliantly, relying on his own qualities of mind and personality to raise him to such a high and coveted position.

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[1] George C. Miles, Early *Arabic Glass Weights and Stamps* (Numismatic Notes and Monographs, nº III [New York, 1948], 75-80; Aimée Launois, "Deux estampilles et un gros poids omeyyades en verre," *JA*, CCXLVI (1958), 287-297. Supplementary materials on Ibn al-Ḥabḥāb in subsequent publications of both these authors add nothing of importance to our present purpose.

[2] Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer, *Führer durch die Ausstellung* (Wien, 1894), nº 85. Hereafter, *PERF*. Corpus papyrorum Raineri... III. Series Arabica, Bd. I, Teil 1. *Allgemeine Einführung in die Arabischen Papyri*, ed. by Adolf Grohmann, Bd. I, Teil 2. Protokolle (Wien, 1924), 95-98. Hereafter *CPR*. *APEL*, III, nºs 174 f. and 80, where nº 174 is however erroneously assigned to Ibn al-Ḥabḥāb, who is considered, in Grohmann's reconstruction, as *amīr* as early as 103/722 (see pp. 7 f. below).

[3] Ibn al-ʿIdhārī, *Al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, ed. by G.S. Colin and É. Lévi-Provençal (Leiden, 1948), 51.

The Islamic sources are not clear as to just when and by whom ʿUbaid Allāh was first appointed as Financial Director of Egypt. Becker [2] and Grohmann [3] favored an appointment by Yazīd (101-105/720-24) as early as 102/720. Their argument rests partly on the assumption that he succeeded ʿUsāma b. Zaid and partly on the fact that when the Umayyad al-Ḥurr b. Yūsuf, Hishām's governor of Egypt (3 Dhū al-Ḥijja 105-Dhū al-Ḥijja 108/2nd May 724-April 727) reached Fusṭāṭ, ʿUbaid Allāh was already in charge of Egypt's finances. The question here is: Did Hishām in the three and a half month's interval between his own accession on the 11th Shaʿbān 105/14th January 724 and al-Ḥurr's arrival in Egypt on the 3rd Dhū al-Ḥijja 105/2nd May 724, merely confirm or actually initiate ʿUbaid Allāh's appointment? There are several factors in favor of the second alternative. There is no reference in the sources to ʿUbaid Allāh's presence in Egypt prior to 105/724. There is also a total absence of any material remains of his activities in Egypt prior to that same year. This is in sharp contrast to the profusion of both these types of evidence for the years that follow. Finally, there is the following clear-cut statement by Severus:

> There was at his (Hishām's) court a Muslim who greatly loved the orthodox churches. He was named ʿUbaid Allāh. When king (*malik*)

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[1] The name has been misspelled in a dozen or more ways. Each of its consonants has been subjected to all of the diacritical points it could possibly take.

[2] Carl H. Becker, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Ägyptens*..., II (Strassburg, 1902-03), 107-110.

[3] *APEL*, III n^{os} 174-175, especially p. 122 and references cited; especially A. Grohmann "Aperçu de papyrologie arabe," *Études de papyrologie*, I (Cairo 1932), 54-56.

> Hishām saw him act so, he rejoiced greatly and made him (financial) governor of Egypt, and commanded him to act with kindness towards all baptised Christians. [1]

Again, we note that al-Ḥurr was the second governor of Egypt to be appointed by Hishām. The first governor was Hishām's own brother, Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Malik, whose appointment began on the 14th Shauwāl 105/106th March 724, and who resigned about a month later over a difference of policy with Hishām. [2] Taking all these sundry facts together, a logical conclusion is that ʿUbaid Allāh either accompanied Hishām's brother to Egypt or joined him soon after, and hence he was already in Egypt when al-Ḥurr arrived as a replacement for Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Malik. All in all, it seems that late 105/spring 724 is the earliest date we can assign for the initial appointment of ʿUbaid Allāh as financial director of Egypt to succeed, in all probability, Ḥayyān b. Shuraiḥ in that office. [3]

Hishām (105-25/724-43) was constantly faced with the power struggle between the North Arab or Qais and the South Arab Yemenite or Kalb tribal factions. A balance of power was particularly needed in the early years of his reign as a check on the Kalbite excesses of the preceding reign of Yazīd. His other major concern was the steady enrichment of his treasury. To accomplish both ends in Egypt, Hishām needed a man whom he could trust, and one who could allay the religious apprehensions of the tax-paying Copts, who were still resentful of the tax extensions of the Yemenite Usāma b. Zaid, [4] and the iconoclastic excesses of Yazīd. [5] ʿUbaid Allāh, with his humble background and Qaisite affiliation, his proven talent for administration, and his happy experience with the Christians of Syria, was an obvious choice for the financial directorship of the rich and predominantly Christian province of Egypt.

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[1] Severus, Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, *History of the Patriarchs of the Coptic Church of Alexandria*... Arabic text edited and translated by B. Evetts. *Patrologia Orientalis*, V, 74 f. Hereafter, *PO*. See also Eutychius, *Annales* (Beirut, 1909), 45.

[2] Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Kindī, *Kitāb al-wulāh wa kitāb al-quḍāh* (Governors and Judges of Egypt), ed. by R. Guest ("Gibb Memorial Series"), XIX (London, 1912), 72 f. Hereafter, Kindī.

[3] Scholars have tended to follow Becker and Grohmann's conjectural dating of the appointment in Yazīd's reign, though not without some uncertainty on the part of some who yet made no attempt at an alternate solution; see, for example, Francesco Gabrieli, *Il Califfato di Hishâm* (Alexandrie, 1935), 125; Miles, *op.cit.*, 73-75, 79; Daniel C. Dennett, *op.cit.*, 87.; Launois, *op. cit.*, 288 and her *Catalogue des Étalons Monétaires... de la Collection Jean Maspéro* (Paris, 1960), 13, 54.

[4] See for example *PO*, V, 67f.; Maqrīzī *Kitāb al-mawāʿiẓ wa 'l-iʿtibār bi-dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa* 'l-*āthār*, 2 vols. (Cairo, 1270-1854), I, 79; II, 492. Hereafter, *Khiṭaṭ*. Also Wiet's edition, *Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut Français du Caire*, XXX, 316; Dennett, *op. cit.*, 79-81.

[5] See for example, Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-ẓāhira*, ed. T.G.J. Juynboll and B.F. Matthes, 2 vols. (Lugduni Batavorum, 1855-56), I, 278, and Stanley Lane-Poole, *A History of Egypt in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1901), 27.

ʿUbaid Allāh initiated a new land survey and general census soon after his arrival in Egypt. [1] The present papyrus, dated at most some five months later, and the earliest so far definitely known to come from his administration, testifies to some of the initial steps in his plans (lines 7-10). Doubtless it was on the strength of the evidence being gathered that ʿUbaid Allāh proposed a tax raise which Hishām readily approved. This is believed to have been the main reason for the general Coptic revolt that soon followed in 107/725-26. [2] The rapidity and finality of ʿUbaid Allāh's actions were possible because he, like several other financial directors before and after him, was responsible only to the Caliph at Damascus. Furthermore, ʿUbaid Allāh was, in a sense, Hishām's own man. He could count on the royal support because he did have Hishām's interest at heart.

It is in the light of this complex situation that one must view ʿUbaid Allāh's next major moves, namely, the removal of al-Ḥurr, late in 108/early 727, and of his supporter and successor, Ḥafṣ b. al-Walīd al-Ḥaḍramī, who lasted but two weeks. [3] Since no reason is stated for the growing rift between ʿUbaid Allāh and al-Ḥurr, both of whom were North Arabs, one can only assume that there was either a clash of personalities or a difference of opinion as to policy, or both. Hishām now left the choice of the next governor to ʿUbaid Allāh himself. He named a former governor of Egypt, the Qaisite ʿAbd al-Malik b. Rifāʿah, whose appointment dated from the 1st of Muḥarram 109/28th April 727, but who did not arrive in Egypt until the 18th of that month, during which interval his brother, Walīd b. Rifāʿah, was Acting Governor. This arrangement was doubtless made with the approval of ʿUbaid Allāh. For when, for reasons of health, ʿAbd al-Malik's appointment lasted but two months, it was Walīd who succeeded him to a long tenure of the governorship (109-117/727-35). [4]

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[1] *PO*, V, 74f. and n. 4 below.

[2] Kindī, *op. cit.*, 73 f.; Maqrīzī, *op. cit.*, I, 79; II, 492(= Wiet, XXX, 332 f.; LIII, 89). These sources report a raise of one *qīrāṭ* per dinar which at 24 *qīrāṭs* to the dinar is 4.167 percent. *PO*, V, 86 reports the rate as 12.5 percent and *ibid.*, 75 states that ʿUbaid Allāh doubled the revenues.

[3] Kindī, *op. cit.*, 75.

[4] Kindī, *op. cit.*, 75-79.

Two major events are credited to Walīd's administration. The first was a thoroughgoing land survey and population census, in which both he and ʿUbaid Allāh participated personally [1] but which, as seen above, had already been initiated by ʿUbaid Allāh. The second event, which took place in 109/727-728, was the settlement of a Qaisite colony in Egypt; and we find that here, too, the initiative came from ʿUbaid Allāh, who, with his finger on the economic pulse of Egypt, reached the conclusion that sections of Lower Egypt could be developed to support a new settlement. He won Hishām's approval for the project by pointing out the political advantage of a Qaisite colony, by transferring the registry of these Qaisites from the *dīwān* of Syria to that of Egypt, and by assuming all of the colony's initial expenses. Himself a Qaisite client, a relationship he was not inclined to overlook, ʿUbaid Allāh took a personal interest in the colony and helped it in every way to establish itself as a remarkably successful agricultural community centered in Bulbais and the surrounding districts, the first such Muslim community in Egypt. [2]

Our next questions are the time and the circumstances under which ʿUbaid Allāh became the Deputy Governor-General of Egypt. These are points on which the sources are silent, in contrast to the papyri which refer to him as *amīr*, governor, as against *ʿāmil*, financial director, in the years 112-13/731-32. [3] Zambaur, misreading a passage in Ibn al-Athīr, V, 117 (= Ṭabarī, II, 1526) lists al-Ḥakam b. Qais b. Makhrimah as governor of Egypt in 111 H. and ʿUbaid Allāh as his deputy governor. [4] What the passage in its full context actually states is that Hishām appointed al-Ḥakam to the command of the Egyptian and Syrian forces in the campaigns of the year 111/April 729-March 730. Grohmann, misled by Zambaur, accepted the year and the circumstance of ʿUbaid Allāh's deputy governorship. [5] This, along with the fact that there is no reference whatsoever to a removal and a reappointment of a Walīd as governor in these years, leaves us with the only possible conclusion that ʿUbaid Allāh was deputy for none other than Walīd himself. The two had been working together smoothly since 109/724. With their major program already accomplished by late 111/early 730, the following years could be expected to be comparatively uneventful—a situation that readily lends itself to absenteeism and deputy rule in high offices. [1] The logical choice of a deputy, under the particular personal relationships of Hishām, ʿUbaid Allāh, and Walīd, would be ʿUbaid Allāh himself. His tenure as deputy governor lasted at least through 113/March 731-32, the date of the latest papyrus known in which he is referred to as *amīr* (*APEL*, III, n° 180).

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[1] *Khiṭaṭ*, I, 99 = Wiet, *op. cit.*, XXXIII, 60 f.; Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, 2 vols. (Cairo, 1299 H.) I, 87.

[2] Kindī, *op. cit.*, 76 f.; Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, ed. by C. C. Torrey (New Haven, 1922), 143; *Khiṭaṭ*, I, 80 = Wiet, *op. cit.*, XXX, 335 f.

[3] *APEL*, III, nos 175, 180.

[4] E. de Zambaur, *Manuel de généalogie et de chronologie pour l'histoire de l'Islam* (Hanover, 1927), 26. It would be strange, indeed, for Hishām to appoint a governor over the joint provinces of Egypt and his own imperial province of Syria.

[5] See p. 26 n. 2.

We do not definitely know, but the great probability is, that ʿUbaid Allāh's sons, Qāsim and Ismāʿīl, were drawn into his administration from the start. [2] We read more about their activities in Severus than in the Muslim records. We find them holding key financial positions during their father's deputyship, the one (which one is not stated) in Upper and the other in Lower Egypt. [3]

Again, it is most probably during this period of complete family control of the internal administration of Egypt that ʿUbaid Allāh himself turned his attention to Nubia. The few Islamic references to the relationship between Egypt and Christian Nubia of this time are for the most part brief and more often than not confused. Some border clashes and the question of Egyptian refugees in Nubia seem to have led to negotiations and a treaty settlement. [4]

Finally, one should not be surprised to find that during this period of *de jure* and *de facto* control of Egypt, there was some turnover in the administrative ranks of the second and lower levels. It is probable that, in keeping with the trend well afoot under ʿUmar II, Arabs and Egyptian converts replaced Christian Copts. [5] Indeed, we find that this very issue of removals from office is said to have induced Walīd, after his resumption of the governorship, to bring about the transfer of ʿUbaid Allāh to the governorship of North Africa and the West.[1]

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[1] Deputy rule was an accepted practice under the Umayyads. As frequently as not, the deputy was someone who already held high office in the provinces, thus combining two offices. Such a deputy as well as a newly appointed one stood a good chance of becoming the next governor.

[2] Family rule, where father and sons, uncle and nephew, or brothers, held high offices simultaneously in the same province, was a widespread practice from Iraq and Khurasan to North Africa and Spain.

[3] *PO*, V, 75 f.

[4] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *op. cit.*, 189. The comparatively neglected theme of Egyptian-Nubian relationships under the Umayyads needs study and clarification.

[5] Kindī, *op. cit.*, 69 and Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, I (Leipzig, 1924), 734; cf. also Ibn al-Athīr, V, 167 for a similar situation in other eastern provinces.

The years 114 and 116 H. are both given as the terminal date of ʿUbaid Allāh's Egyptian appointment. But a dinar weight dated 115/733, which bears his name but without the title *amīr*,[2] together with the fact that the earliest papyrus from the financial administration of Qāsim, ʿUbaid Allāh's son and successor, is dated Rabīʿ II 116/10 May 734—the very date given by some of the sources as the start of ʿUbaid Allāh's North African appointment[3]—definitely resolve this contradiction. It is nonetheless instructive to seek the probable cause of this confusion of dates. The governir of North Africa, ʿUbaida b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān left for Syria in 114 H. and there resigned his office, which was filled for some time by a deputy or acting governor.[4] Many of the sources bypass this period but mention ʿUbaid Allāh's governorship as following that of ʿUbaida's, presumably in 114/732. Once this error was recorded, it is easy to see how it kept reappearing,[5] though the correct date 116/734 was also being recorded by others.[6] A second source of confusion for the terminal date stems from the activities of a third son of ʿUbaid Allāh, named Muḥammad, who was appointed by ʿUbaida b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān to Spain in 113 H. and who raided the Basque and French borders in 114-15/732-34.[7]

Whatever Walīd may or may not have done towards the transfer of ʿUbaid Allāh, the transfer itself did not disturb the cordial relations between ʿUbaid Allāh and Hishām, despite Serverus' account to the contrary with the assumption of ʿUbaid Allāh's disgrace and punishment. [1] In the first place, ʿUbaid Allāh had the satisfaction of leaving as his successor in Egypt (116-24/734-42), his son Qāsim, who, as Severus himself points out, continued his father's policies, even to the making of many new high-ranking appointments. [2] Next, ʿUbaid Allāh himself moved up the administrative ladder, at least outwardly, to the governor-generalship of the vast territory of North Africa and Muslim Spain. Finally, he had a free hand in the choice of his ranking assistants and so proceeded to appoint his son Ismāʿīl to Sūs and Tangier and ʿUqba b. al-Ḥajjāj al-Salūlī (see p. 9) to Spain. [3] The anonymous *Akhbār majmūʿa* gives a dramatic account of ʿUqba's appointment, which, apart from its flourishes, brings out ʿUbaid Allāh's sense of loyalty to ʿUqba and Hishām, his confidence in his own judgment as against that of his haughty sons, and his own sense of power and security. [4] All of which would indicate that when Hishām transferred ʿUbaid Allāh from the comparatively peaceful Egypt to the turbulent West with its religious instability and its tribal and racial strife, he did so because he knew him to be an experienced, able, and loyal administrator.

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[1] Ibn Tahrībirdī I, 288, 293 f., 296. This is the only Muslim source to make this point; cf. *PO*, V, 86: "A group of Muslim leaders complained to Hishām about him."

[2] Miles, *op. cit.*, 79 f., nº 10a.

[3] *PERF*, nº 601; A. Grohmann, *Die Arabischen Papyri aus der Giessener Universitätsbibliothek* (Giessen, 1960), 33; Miles, *op. cit.*, 88 and references cited; see also notes 5 f. below.

[4] For example, Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *op. cit.*, 217; Yaʿqūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 382; Ibm al-ʿIdhārī, I, 57; Ibn al-Athīr, V, 132.

[5] Among those who repeat it are al-Bakrī, Yāqūt, Qalgashandī, Ibn Taghrībirdī, and Ibn Khaldūn.

[6] For example, Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *op. cit.*, 217; Ibn al-ʿIdhārī, I, 51; Ibn al-Athīr, V, 130, 137.

[7] As far as I have been able to discover, Muḥammad b. ʿUbaid Allāh is mentioned only by Ibn Khaldūn, quoting Wāqidī, who gives a very uncomplimentary account of Muḥammad as an oppressor; Ibn Khaldūn, *Ta'rīkh*, IV (Būlāq, 1284), 119 = IV (Beirut, 1958), 258.

Comparatively little is known of the details of ʿUbaid Allāh's financial measures in his new territory. His military campaigns, generally successful in the earlier years of his governorship, loom larger. Accounts of these activities have found their way into the works of Amari and Dozy and their successors and need not detain us here. We do, however, need to note first their continuity, for there is hardly a year without its one or more campaigns, and secondly, the wide territory they covered. This included most of far western North Africa, the Sudan, the islands of the western Mediterranean, especially Sardinia and Sicily, and the Spanish borders, where the zealous ʿUqba b. al-Ḥajjāj led the annual campaigns. [1]

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[1] *PO*, V, 86 f.

[2] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *op. cit.*, 216; *PO*, V, 92-104, especially 94 and 104, a very antagonistic account of Qāsim's personality and of his administration. Again, it is Ibn Taghrībirdī alone who reports (I, 296) that when ʿUbaid Allāh left for North Africa, Hishām had Walīd take over his function, but soon separated the two offices, while all the rest of the sources indicate direct succession from ʿUbaid Allāh to Qāsim. Muslim sources have very little to say of Qāsim's long administration, but material remains, like those of his father, are copious, though not many are dated; see for example, *CPR*, III, 98 f.; *APEL*, I, n^{os} 31 f; Miles, *op. cit.*, 83-89; Launois, 296 f. and p. 31, n. 4.

[3] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *op. cit.*, 217; Ibn al-ʿIdhārī, I, 51; Ibn al-Athīr, V, 141.

[4] Colección de obras arabigas, I, *Ajbâr Mâchmua*, ed. and tr. by Emilio Lafuente y Alcántara (Madrid, 1867), 25-28; cf. R. Dozy, *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne* (Leyde, 1932), 144-146. Ibn al-Iʿdhārī I, 52 f. gives a briefer and less dramatic account of this episode.

ʿUbaid Allāh seemingly kept in close personal touch with the internal affairs of Qairawān and Tunis, but had to rely on his subordinates for the effective execution of his tax policy in the far western districts. No adequate account exists of the ups and downs of Muslim taxation in North Africa where Berber resistance to taxation was endemic. [2] ʿUbaid Allāh doubtless sought to increase the total revenue of the province as he had done so successfully in Egypt. He did not, however, take adequate precautions against the Berber's greater instability and fighting spirit as compared to the Copts. He made the mistake of overextending his military forces, particularly in the major campaign of 122/740-41 against Sicily, and so gave the restless Khārijites of the Far West an opportunity for successful revolt. Their grievances centered around general oppression and particularly on the *khums*, or the state's claim to one-fifth of the booty and captives of war. The Berber Khārijite prisoners were treated as non-Muslims and enslaved in large numbers. [3] The sources are divided on who was primarily responsible, at the time, for this application of the *khums*. They shift between Ismāʿīl and his associate, ʿUmar b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Murādī, who was in Tangier at the time of the revolt. Ibn al-ʿIdhārī concerned himself with this question more than the others. He puts the blame squarely on ʿUmar for the general oppression of Muslims and non-Muslims alike and specifically for the *khums*, and fails to mention Ismāʿīl in this connection. But he holds ʿUbaid Allāh nonetheless responsible ultimately for the behavior of his subordinates, and in the final analysis extends the blame to the excessive demands of the Caliphs back East for revenue, gift articles, and slaves. [4] The fact that the rebels struck first at ʿUmar in Tangier rather than at Ismāʿīl in Sūs would seem to indicate ʿUmar as the immediate culprit; but with victory adding fervor to their zeal, the rebels moved quickly against Ismāʿīl also. The revolt mushroomed so fast that all the forces ʿUbaid Allāh could muster by recalling the troops from Sicily and by calling on ʿUqba b. al-Ḥajjāj to come to his aid with troops from Spain proved to be too late and too little. For the net results were the catastrophic defeat in the Battle of the Nobles, *ghazwat al-ashrāf* (123/741), which cost the lives of a large number of the Arab nobility, and revolt in Spain where ʿUqba returned to defeat and death in the struggle for power between the North and South Arab tribes. [1]

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[1] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *op. cit.*, 217; Ibn al-ʿIdhārī, I, 51; Ibn al-Athīr, V, 137, 141; Ibn Taghrībirdī, I, 296, 306-309, 314, 319; Ibn Khaldūn, VI, 110.

[2] The province, in this respect, comes closer to the situation in Khurasan (see Dennett, *op. cit.*, chap. vi) than to that in the heartlands of the Umayyad Empire.

[3] For example, Ibn al-ʿIdhārī, I, 51 f.; Ibn al-Athīr, V, 141 f.; Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-duwal al-Islāmīya bi 'l-Maghrib* (*Histoire des Berbères* I, [Alger, 1847] 137 = I, [Alger, 1852], 216 and also the citation from Nuwairī on p. 359). A parallel situation existed in Khurasan but wiser council against the application of the *khums* prevailed; see for example, Ibn al-Athīr, V, 102.

[4] Ibn al-ʿIdhārī, *loc. cit.*

Accounts of the political events that followed are quite confused. ʿUbaid Allāh is credited with a futile effort to pacify Spain by confirming the South Arab rebel leader, the aged ʿAbd al-Malik b. Qaṭan, in office. [2] In North Africa itself, while Berber military successes continued, Arab political factionalism ended in the local deposition of ʿUbaid Allāh and so forced his recall by Hishām (Jumādā I 123/ March-April 741). [3] Grief for the fate of Ismāʿīl and his family, military defeat, and political disaster proved too much for the aged ʿUbaid Allāh, whose death followed in that same year. His son Qāsim continued as Financial Director of Egypt until Shaʿbān 124/June 742 when that office was once more merged with that of the Governor-General, who was at the time, ironically enough. Ḥafṣ b. al-Walīd (see p. 8). [4] The Muslim sources are silent on the last days of ʿUbaid Allāh and the removal of Qāsim, which is in sharp contrast with Severus who associates both situations with Hushām's great displeasure. [5] Hishām himself dies some eight months later (Rabīʿ II/February 743).

The above view of the three phases of ʿUbaid Allāh's political career, each in its local as well as in its imperial setting, yields a broad basis for an estimate of the character of the man and the nature of his administration. He first comes into view as a full-fledged secretary with the rich liberal education and exacting professoinal experience of his class, the ideal of which was being delineated, even then, by the top-ranking state secretaries ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd and Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ. Ibn al-ʿIdhārī pays tribute to ʿUbaid Allāh's personal and intellectual qualities in glowing terms: "He was a brilliant leader and a great ruler, excelling in eloquence and oratory, and with a memory well-stocked with the classical poetry of the battle days of *Aiyām al-ʿArab.*"[1] His energetic and methodical administration of Egypt compares well with that of Qurra b. Sharīk.[2] He had the will to power and this he achieved partly by surrounding himself with able men of his own choosing. Nevertheless, his remarkable achievements were due mostly to his personal attention to the needs and possibilities of Egypt as a whole and to the interests of his patron, the caliph Hishām. He served both well; for he doubled the revenue of Egypt, not so much by new taxes on Muslims or Copts, nor yet by the modest tax increase (see p. 8), but by efficient administration and aggressive land development. The Qaisite colony and land development project apart from its financial and political implications was a bold venture in large-scale rural interracial relationship and is believed to have speeded up conversion among the Coptic peasantry. His transfer to the governorship of North Africa, regardless of rival intrigue, was a grateful caliph's tribute to proven ability and loyalty, from which Hishām continued to profit for the first six of the seven years of ʿUbaid Allāh's rule of North Africa and Spain. True, he alone was responsible for the overextension of his forces in so restless a land, and also ultimately responsible for the excesses of his subordinates. Yet, generals and statesmen have fallen into similar errors without such dire consequences as were heaped on ʿUbaid Allāh.

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[1] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *op. cit.*, 21 7f.; Ibn al-ʿIdhārī, I, 52; Ibn al-Athīr, V, 142, 188 f. cf. also Dozy, *op. cit.*, 151; Gabrieli, *op. cit.*, 113 f.

[2] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *op. cit.*, 217, alone makes this point.

[3] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, 218; Ibn al- ʿIdhārī, I, 54; Ibn al-Athīr, V, 142 f; cf. Dozy, 152.

[4] Kindī, *op. cit.*, 82.

[5] *PO*, V, 92-94. There is no reference to any other blood members of ʿUbaid Allāh's family. Qāsim and his descendants settled in Egypt and seem to have fared well, to judge by the tombstone of Qāsim's great-granddaughter, who died in Rajab 256/January 870. There is also a reference to a client of ʿUbaid Allāh, Saʿīd b. Sābiq al-Rashīdī, a traditionist who transmitted from Ibn Lahīʿa and to al-Tirmidhī among others; see Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *op. cit.*, 177, and Yāqūt (*Geog.*), II, 781.

The North African crisis, which grew even worse in the years that followed, must be viewed in the wider background of Hishām's reign and the end of the Umayyads. Territorial over-expansion and setbacks in Spain as in Khurasan, increasing racial and tribal strife throughout the empire, and an insatiable imperial demand for revenues characterized the period. Seen in this setting, the North African revolt was as much, if indeed not more, an imperial crisis as it was a regional one; and the end of ʿUbaid Allāh's political career was more a part of the general tragedy than a personal administrative failure.

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[1] *Op. cit.*, I, 51; cf. Dozy, 144; Gabrieli, 94.
[2] See *KPA*, 57-69.

UN TRAITÉ DES NOMS DIVINS DE FAKHR AL-DĪN AL-RĀZĪ, LE *Lawāmiʿ al-baiyināt fī ’l-asmāʾ wa ’l-ṣifāt*

PAR

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Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (m. 606/1209), [1] est sans conteste, un des plus grands théologiens sunnites de l’Islam. Son grand commentaire du Coran, *Mafātīḥ al-ghaib*, contient, pour la première fois dans l’Islam, un traitement systématique et philosophique des données coraniques, où sont groupés, sous formes de *Quaestiones* (*masāʾil*), les différents points que soulève l’examen du texte sacré. D’autres ouvrages, imprimés, en particulier *al-Mabāḥith al-mashriqīya*, permettent de se rendre compte de l’immense science religieuse de cet auteur, ainsi que de son esprit d’organisation.

Nous avons eu l’occasion dernièrement d’étudier de près un de ses ouvrages consacré spécialement aux attributs et noms divins: *Kitāb lawāmiʿ al-baiyināt fī ’l-asmāʾ wa ’l-ṣifāt.* [2] L’esprit clair, posé, précis de Rāzī s'y retrouve avec son remarquable sens religieux qui, au-delà des exposés techniques, laisse transparaître un réel souci d'approcher Dieu d'une façon savoureuse.

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[1] Si étrange que cela puisse paraître, l’ancienne édition de l’*Encyclopédie de l’Islam* ne contenait pas de notice sur Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī. L’omission, certainement involontaire, a été réparée dans le *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Leiden, 1953), 470 (éd. Gibb et Kramers), puis dans la nouvelle édition (article de l’auteur de ces lignes). Nous avons, par ailleurs, donné une biographie assez détaillée de Rāzī dans un article des *Mélanges Henri Massé* (sous presse), et, dans un autre des *Mélanges Taha Hussein*, parus, une recension détaillée de ses œuvres (Le Caire: Imp. Dār al-Maʿārif, 1962), 193-234. Pour la bibliographie concernant Rāzī, on voudra bien se reporter à ce dernier et à celui de *EI*^{2} (sous presse).

[2] Edité au Caire, Imp. al-Sharqīya, 1333/1914, 266 pages. La bibliographie sur les noms divins et les attributs est considérable. En voici les éléments essentiels. Tout d’abord, Rāzī a traité ailleurs cette question; par exemple, dans le *Muḥaṣṣal afkār al-mutaqaddimīn* (Le Caire, s.d.), 106-140; *K. al-arbaʿīn fī uṣūl al-dīn* (Hyderabad, 1353/1934), 92-226; *al-Mabāḥith al-mashriqīya*, II (Hyderabad, 1343/1924), 448-500; *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb*, I (Le Caire, 1308/1890), 55-91; IV, 331-334.

Tous les grands commentateurs du Coran traitent cette question aux lieux classiques: 7, 179 (arabe 180); 17, 110 (arabe 110); 20, 7 (arabe 8); 59, 24 (arabe 24) où il est parlé d’*al-asmāʾ al-ḥusnā.* Pour les passages du Coran et les traductions concernant les attributs et les noms, cf. Abū Bakr al-Baihaqī, *K. al-asmāʾ wa ’l-ṣifāt* (Le Caire: al-Kurdī, 1358/1939), 512 (sic) pages. Les ouvrages de *kalām* ou d’hérésiologie en traitent régulièrement; cf. par exemple (les auteurs sont classés par ordre chronologique): Ashʿarī (m. 324/935), *K.al-Lumaʿ*, éd. McCarthy, (Beyrouth, 1953), texte arabe, 6-36; tr. 6-52; *Maqālāt al-islāmīyīn*, éd.

Aussi nous a-t-il semblé utile de donner une analyse schématique de cet ouvrage qui mériterait d'être entièrement traduit. Rāzī utilise

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Ritter (Istanbul, 1929), I, 36-39, 70-71, et surtout les positions des muʿtazilites' 155-224; mis à profit par O. Pretzl, *Die Frühislamische Attributenlehre* (1940); Ibn Ḥazm (m. 384/994) rejette l'emploi du mot *ṣifāt* appliqué à Dieu, parce que non coranique, cf. *Fiṣal*, II (Le Caire 1320/1902), 120; il accepte par contre les "Noms divins," *ibid.*, 161.; Baghdādī (m. 429/1037) *Kitāb Uṣūl al-dīn* (Istanbul, 1346/1928), 5e *aṣl*, 114-129; Juwainī (m. 478/1085), *al-Irshād*, texte et tr. de Luciani (Paris, 1938), chaps. 6-17; Abū 'l-Barakāt m. 547/1152), *Kitāb al-muʿtabar*, III (Hyderabad, 1357/1938), 128.; Shahrastānī (m. 548/1153), *Nihāyat al-iqdām*, éd. Guillaume (London, 1934), texte arabe, 90-356; Maïmonide (m. 601/1204, *Guide for the Perplexed*, tr. angl. de Friedländer (London, 1904), chaps. 51-61; al-Iṣfahānī (m. 749/1348), *Sharḥ maṭāliʿ al-anẓār ʿalā matn Ṭawāliʿ al-anwār* de Baiḍāwī (m. 685/1286); Saʿd al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī (m. 791/1389), *A Commentary on the Creed of Islam* (on the Creed of Najm al-Dīn al-Nasafī), transl.... by E. E. Elder (New York, 1950), chaps. 5-8 (il s'agit de Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar b. Muḥammad al-Nasafī m. 537/1142]); Jurjānī (m. 816/1413), *Sharḥ al-mawāqif*, III (Le Caire, 1311/1893) 5e *mauqif*, 4-172; Ibn al-Murtaḍā al- Yamānī (m. 840/1436), *Ithār al-ḥaqq ʿalā 'l-khalq* (Le Caire, 1318), 168-193; Sanūsī (m. 895/1490), *Les prolégomènes théologiques*, texte et traduction (Alger, 1908), 162-216; al-Baiyāḍī XI^e s. H.), *Ishārāt al-marām* (Le Caire, 1368/1949), 107 s.; al-Zawāhirī (contemporain), *al-Taḥqīq al-tām fī ʿilm al-kalām* (Le Caire, 1358/1939), 58-106.

Sur une élaboration gnostique des attributs et des noms, cf. al-Baṭalyausī (m. 521/1127), *Kitāb al-ḥadā'iq fī 'l-maṭālib al-ʿāliya al-falsafīya al-ʿawīṣa*, éd. Kautharī (Le Caire, 1365/1946), 42-40 (expose et réfute). Pour Ibn ʿArabī voir le livre de ʿAfīfī, *The Mystical Philosophy of Muḥyid Din Ibnul ʿArabi*, à l'index II: attributes, essence, names, (Cambridge, 1939) (c'est la thèse de doctorat de l'auteur préparée sous la direction de Nicholson); Jīlānī (= Jīlī, m. 832/1428), *al-Insān al-Kāmil* (Le Caire: Imp. Subaiḥ, s. C.), cf. Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Mysticism* (Cambridge, 1921), chap. 2, 77-148.

Sur l'utilisation des noms divins dans la magie, voir le *Shams al-Maʿārif* d'al-Būnī (nombreuses éditions au Caire), et les *Shumūs al-anwār* d'Ibn al-Ḥājj al-Tilimsānī, cf. E. Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord* (Alger, 1909), 199-219.

Comme travaux occidentaux également par ordre chronologique: J. W. Redhouse, "The Most Comely Names," *JRAS*, XII (1880), 1-69 (a recueilli 552 noms divins, mais en comptant les expressions composées; critique de la méthode dans l'ouvrage de Rahbar cité plus loin); Hughes, *A Dictionary of Islam* (London, 1885), s.v. "God," 141-148; Zwemer, *The Moslem Doctrine of God* (New York, 1905), un peu dépréciatif; A. J. Wensinck, *The Muslim Creed* (Cambridge, 1932), v. index, s.v. "attributes;" il donne la traduction de *Umm al-Barāhīn* de Sanūsī, 275-276; J. W. Sweetman, *Islam and Christian Theology*, Part 1, I (London, 1942), 17-22 et la liste des noms, 215-216; Part 1, II (1947), 11-47; K. Cragg, *The Call of the Minaret* (New York, 1956), 40-44, 62, 112; Moubarac, "Les noms, titres et attributs de Dieu dans le Coran," (*Le Muséon*, LXVIII (1955); J. Jomier, "Le nom divin "al-Raḥmān" dans le Coran," dans *Mélanges Massignon* (Beyrouth, 1957), 361-381; D. Masson, *Le Coran et la révélation judéo-chrétienne* (Paris, 1958), chaps. 1, "Les attributs de Dieu," 15-82.

évidemment ses prédécesseurs, [1] en particulier Ghazālī, qui a consacré au même sujet le *Kitāb al-maqṣad al-asnā, sharḥ asmā᾿ Allāh al-ḥusnā.* Mais le traité de Rāzī est plus développé et il contient, en particulier dans la première partie, d'intéressantes dissertations que l'on ne trouve pas chez Ghazālī (du moins pas dans le *Maqṣad al-asnā*).

Dans une très courte préface, où il dédie son ouvrage à Abū 'l-Mu'aiyad Sām b. ʿUmar b. Masʿūd b. al-Ḥusain Zain Allāh, Rāzī exprime son désir de mettre au point les questions se rapportant aux attributs divins et aux noms. Selon son habitude, il indique clairement son plan. L'ouvrage comprendra trois parties (*aqsām*): la première traite des principes et des prolégomènes (*fī 'l-mabādi᾿ wa 'l-muqaddimāt*); la deuxième étudie les attributs et les noms divins proprement dits (*fī 'l-maqāṣid wa 'l-ghāyāt*). Enfin, une troisième partie apportera quelques compléments aux deux précédentes (*fī 'l-lawāḥiq wa 'l-mutammimāt*). Voyons d'un peu près chacune de ces parties.

Première partie: Principes et prolégomènes (pp. 3-73)

Cette première partie comporte dix chapitres qui vont permettre à Rāzī d'examiner en détail un certain nombre de problèmes que soulève l'affirmation des noms divins.

Chapitre premier: Le nom, le nommé et la nomination

Tout d'abord, le chapitre premier va préciser ce qu'est le nom (*ism*), le nommé (*al-musammā*) et la nomination ou l'appelation (*al-tasmiya*).

Les deux articles de L. Gardet dans EI^2 ("Allāh" et "al-Asmā'al-ḥusnā") sont à la fois érudits et d'une parfaite tenue théologique. Enfin un des derniers travaux en date, fait par un musulman qui a travaillé au Centre d'Etudes islamiques de McGill (Montréal) est celui de Daud Rahbar, *God of Justice: A Study in the Ethical Doctrine of the Qur᾿an* (Leiden: Brill, 1960) surtout le premier chapitre, 3-27.

[1] Voici certains noms cités: Abū Muslim al-Iṣfahānī, 8; Abū Zaid al-Balkhī, 11, 49, 56, 79; Les mu᾿tazilites, les *falāsifa, passim*; Abū Ishāq al-Naẓẓām, 17; Abū 'l-Hudhail, 17; al-Qāḍī [al-Bāqillānī], 18; Abū 'l-Qāsim al-Raghab, dans son livre *Kitāb al-Dharīʿa*, 19; al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qais, 38; Abū Khalaf Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik al-Sulaʿī al-Ṭabarī; Aḥmad [b. Ḥanbal], al-Baihaqī, Abū ʿIsā al-Tirmidhī, 54; Abū Sulaimān al-Khaṭṭābī, 58, 158, 220; Saʿīd b. Jubair, 70; Abū 'l-Qāsim al-Qushairī, 70; Abū 'l-Barakāt al-Baghdādī qu'il appelle "al-ḥakīm al-kabīr" en citant un long passage de *Kitāb al-Muʿtabar*, 72; Yahyā b. Maʿādh, 86; Shaqīq al-Balkhī, 86; al-Khalīl, 8, 91; al-Zajjāj, 91, 152; Sībawaihi, 91; al-Farrā᾿, 91; al-Shiblī, 92; Abū Saʿīd al-Jazzār, 92; Ibn Dīnār, 103; Abū Mūsa al-Ashʿarī, 105; Abū 'l-ʿĀliya al-Rimāḥī, 109, Thaʿlab, 114; Abū Bakr al-Warrāq, 130; Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Tirmidhī, 130; al-Muḥāsibī, 130, 205; Ghazālī, 148, 151; Abū Isḥāq al-Isfarā᾿inī, 150; Ibn Duraid, 158; Abū Manṣūr al-Baghdādī, 173; Abū ʿUbaida, 197; al-Manṣūr al-Maghribī, 233; al-Junaid, 205; al-mashāyikh, 170, 173, 178, 179, etc.

S'écartant des Mu'tazilites, Rāzī se rallie à la thèse de Ghazālī qui distingue les trois choses et qui affirme deux points:

A. Que le nom est autre que le nommé.

B. Que la nomination est distincte du nom.

Cinq arguments sont avancés en faveur de A: 1) Les noms divins sont nombreux, le nommé ne l'est pas. 2) On emploie certains noms: *ma'dūm*, *manfī*, *salb* pour désigner des choses non-existantes. 3) Les grammairiens distinguent le nom du verbe et de la particule. Le nom est un mot que l'on prononce, le nommé représente l'essence de la chose désignée, sa nature. Or le nom et la chose signifiée reçoivent des qualifications différentes: le nom (en tant que mot) est un son, composé de syllabes, c'est un accident, il est arabe, hébraïque, etc., tandis que le signifié est une substance. 4) Dieu a ordonné qu'on l'invoque au moyen des beaux noms. 5) On dit: un tel a donné tel nom à telle chose, ce qui n'aurait pas de sens si le nom et la chose nommée étaient identiques.

Quant à la seconde thèse (B: la nomination est distincte du nom), ce qui en montre la vérité, c'est que nommer consiste à faire qu'un mot donné définisse, fasse connaître l'essence de la chose nommée. Or imposer le nom est autre que la chose elle-même, de la même façon que la mise en mouvement (*al-taḥrīk*) est autre chose que le mouvement lui-même (*al-ḥaraka*).

Fidèle à sa méthode, Rāzī présente des objections (six arguments de la position adverse) (pp. 5-6), et y répond (pp. 6-10).

Chapitre deuxième: Différences entre les noms et les attributs

Le mot *ism* dérive soit d'*al-sumūw*, c'est-à-dire l'élévation (grammairiens de Baṣra) soit d'*al-sima* (racine w *sm*), c'est-à-dire le sign (grammairiens de Kūfa). Dans le premier cas, tout mot significatif est un „*ism*", car il „conduit", il fait monter au significat; dans le second cas, tout mot significatif est une „*sima*", un signe, par rapport au signifié. Aussi le terme s'appliquera-t-il également à tout mot, qu'il soit verbe, nom ou particule.

Les grammairiens ont approprié le sens de „*ism*" à une certaine catégorie de mots significatifs, les distinguant du *fi'l* (verbe) et du *ḥarf* (particule).

Les théologiens (*mutakallimūn*), à leur tour, parmi les noms définis par les grammairiens, ont encore effectué une distinction et une restriction basées sur la considération suivante: on peut considérer une essence soit en elle-même, en tant que telle (*min ḥaithu hiya hiya*): on a alors affaire au nom; soit en tant qu'elle est qualifiée par un qualificatif (par exemple, le Créateur, le long, le large): on a alors affaire à l'attribut.

Ensuite, Rāzī institue une comparaison entre les attributs et les noms. On peut, selon les points de vue envisagés, tantôt donner la priorité et la plus grande dignité aux attributs, tantôt l'inverse (p. 11).

Chapitre troisième: *Positions doctrinales diverses concernant les attributs et les noms*

Il y a trois positions principales:

A. Certains nient l'existence des noms en Dieu et n'admettent que les attributs, soutenant que Dieu est inconnaissable.

B. D'autres font l'inverse: ils admettent l'existence des noms, mais rejettent celle des attributs. C'est le cas, dit Rāzī, de certains anciens philosophes et des Sabéens.

C. Enfin, il y a ceux qui admettent à la fois les noms et les attributs.

Première position: *Négation des noms*, *affirmation des attributs*. — C'est l'opinion de tous ceux qui disent: a) que l'essence (*ḥaqīqa*) de Dieu n'est pas connue des hommes; b) qu'on ne peut donc pas lui appliquer de nom. Preuve de la première proposition: ce qu'on connaît de Dieu, c'est l'existence, les négations (*al-sulūb*) et les relations (*al-iḍāfāt*). Pour l'être: savoir que Dieu existe ne renseigne pas sur son essence; car l'existence connue c'est celle qui s'oppose au non-être. Or c'est là un concept général qui se vérifie de tout être. En second lieu, en appliquant à Dieu des négations (en disant qu'il n'est pas substance, qu'il n'est pas accident, etc.), on ne fait que nier ces réalités. Or la réalité de Dieu est autre que les négations. Enfin, dire de Dieu qu'il est savant, qu'il est puissant, c'est dire qu'il a des attributs tels qu'ils produisent des effets permettant d'appliquer ces attributions à titre de possibilité, non de nécessité (*ʿalā sabīl al-ṣiḥḥa lā ʿalā sabīl al-wujūb*).

Argument en faveur de la deuxième proposition: L'imposition du nom a pour but de désigner ce dont on parle à un interlocuteur. Cela suppose que l'un, au moins, de ceux qui parlent connaît le „nommé". Si cette réalité nommée n'est connue que de Dieu seul, il est vain de lui imposer un nom.

Réponse: Dieu peut livrer le secret de son essence, et alors nous pouvons lui appliquer légitimement des noms.

Deuxième position: *Affirmation des noms*, *négation des attributs*. —

Premier argument: Si nous appliquons des attributs à Dieu, on bien ils s'appliquent vraiment à lui, ou non. S'ils ne s'appliquent pas, nous serons des ignorants ou des menteurs. S'ils s'appliquent, ils sont ou bien l'essence elle-même, ou non. Il est impossible qu'ils soient l'essence, car tous ces attributs seraient des synonymes désignant l'essence; ils ne seraient plus des attributs, mais des noms. S'ils ne sont pas l'essence elle-même, ils seront ou nécessaires per se, ou possibles per se. Dans les deux cas cela n'est pas possible.

Deuxième argument: Il y aurait composition en Dieu.

Troisième argument: L'essence de Dieu est parfaite, elle n'a pas besoin d'attributs.

Quatrième argument: L'affirmation de l'unicité de Dieu est exigée par toutes les religions (*jamīʿ al-adyān wa 'l-milal*). Or le Coran dit que les chrétiens encourent le reproche de *kufr* parce qu'ils affirment que Dieu est trois. Or on sait que les chrétiens ne disent pas qu'il y a trois essences en Dieu, mais une seule à laquelle ils attribuent des *aqānīm*. Ils entendent par là les attributs. C'est donc à cause de l'affirmation des attributs que Dieu parle de leur *kufr*.

Rāzī répond à ces divers arguments (p. 15), puis il fait une remarque générale. Les difficultés au sujet des attributs proviennent d'une double cause: 1) On considère l'unité divine comme une perfection, et la multiplicité comme une déficience, d'où exagération dans le sens de l'unité, et négation des attributs. 2) On considère que l'être doué de toute-puissance, d'omniscience, de vie, est plus parfait que celui qui n'en est point doué. Or ces attributs sont essentiellement distincts, d'où la nécessité d'affirmer leur multiplicité. De telle sorte que c'est le souci de sauvegarder la perfection de Dieu qui conduit les uns et les autres aux exagérations.

Pour concilier ces deux exigences, quatre solutions ont été proposées:

1) La méthode des philosophes (*ṭarīqat al-ilāhīyīn min al-falāsifa*). Ils distinguent deux sortes d'attributs: les négatifs désignés dans le Coran par *al-jalāl*, les relatifs (*al-iḍāfīya*) désigné par *al-ikrām*. La multiplicité des négations ne porte pas atteinte à l'unicité de l'essence, ni à celle des attributs relatifs.

2) La méthode des Muʿtazilites. Ils admettent que Dieu est savant, voulant, etc.: a) avec un significat négatif (c'est-à-dire savant = non ignorant): Abū Isḥāq al-Naẓẓām; b) avec un significat positif qui est son essence (*ʿain dhātihi*: Abū 'l-Hudhail).

3) La méthode d'Abū Hāshim. L'attribut n'est ni existant ni inexistant; ni connu ni inconnu.

4) L'attribut est quelque chose de positif, connu, ajouté à l'essence.

Chapitre quatrième: *Les noms divins sont-ils déterminés par la révélation* (tauqīfīya) *ou déduites par la raison* (qiyāsīya)?

Pous nos amis (*aṣḥābunā*), dit Rāzī, ils sont déterminés par la révélation.

Pour les Mu'tazilites et les Karrāmīya, si la raison montre qu'un terme peut s'appliquer à Dieu, on peut le lui appliquer, qu'il y ait révélation sur ce point ou non. C'est aussi la position de Bāqillānī, „de nos amis" (*min aṣḥābinā*).

Pour Ghazālī, les noms divins sont déterminés par la révélation avec la permission (*mauqūfa 'alā idhn*), mais pas les attributs. C'est la position qu'adopte Rāzī (*wa-hādhā huwa 'l-mukhtār*).

Argument des *aṣḥāb*. Si le critère n'était pas le *tauqīf 'alā 'l-idhn*, on devrait pouvoir dire de Dieu qu'il est: *'ārif*, *faqīh*, *dārī*, *fahīm*, *mūqin*, *fāṭin*, *ṭabīb*, *labīb*, de la même façon qu'on dit qu'il est *'alīm*. En effet, ces qualificatifs sont synonymes de *'ālim*, du point de vue linguistique. Or on ne peut pas le faire. Donc l'attribution des noms *mauqūf 'alā 'l-samā' wa 'l-idhn* est déterminée par la tradition et la permission.

Réponse de Bāqillānī qui explique que chacun de ces qualificatifs comporte une signification qui empêche de l'appliquer.

Instance: il semble que certains qualificatifs comme *al-kabīr*, *al-khidā'*, *al-kaid*, *al-istihzā'*, la raison indique qu'ils ne sont pas applicables à Dieu. Or permission est donnée de le faire.

Réponse à l'instance: Les attributs son de trois sortes:

1) ceux qui signifient quelque chose d'applicable absolument à Dieu (*thābita fī ḥaqq Allāh qaṭ'an*):

a) les uns peuvent être employés seuls ou en annexion. Exemple: existant (*maujūd*), chose (*shai'*), prééternel (*azalī*), éternel (*qadīm*).

b) d'autres peuvent être employés seuls, mais non en annexion. On peut dire, Ô créateur, mais non: Ô créateur des singes et des porcs, alors qu'on peut et doit dire, Ô créateur des cieux et de la terre.

c) d'autres, enfin, ne peuvent être employés qu'en adjonction. Par exemple, on ne peut pas dire à Dieu: *yā munshi'* (Ô toi, qui fais croître), *yā munzil* (Ô toi, qui fais descendre), *yā rāmī* (Ô toi, qui jette); et pourtant il est dit dans le Coran: *a'antum ansha'tum shajaratahā am naḥnu 'l-munshi'ūn*? (Cor. 56, 71), *a'antum anzaltumūhu min al-munzi am naḥnu al-munzilūn*? (56, 68), et: *mā ramaita idh ramaita wa-lākin*

Allāh ramā (8, 17). De même, on ne peut pas dire: *yā muḥarrik*, *yā musakkin*, mais: *yā muḥarrik al-samāwāt* (Ô toi qui mets en mouvement les cieux), *yā musakkin al-arḍ* (Ô toi, qui mets la terre au repos).

En bref, dans l'emploi de ces attributs, il faut tenir compte de la bienséance et du respect qu'on doit à Dieu, *riʿāyat al-adab wa 'l-taʿẓīm*.

2) des attributs qui ne peuvent d'aucune façon être appliqués à Dieu. Si la tradition emploie certains de ces attributs, il faut les entendre dans un sens métaphorique (*ta'wīl*), comme la descente (*al-nuzūl*), l'image (*al-ṣūra*), la venue (*al-majī'*).

3) des attributs composés d'une partie applicable à Dieu et d'une modalité qui empêche de les lui appliquer. Si la tradition emploie certains d'entre eux, il faut les employer eux seuls, tels quels, et non leurs dérivés. On dira: *wa-makarū wa-makara Allāh* (ils machinèrent et Dieu machina, Cor. 3,47), *yastahzi' bihim* (Dieu se raillera d'eux, Cor, 2, 14), mais non: *yā khādiʿ*, *yā mustahzi'*.

Preuve de la position adoptée: on ne peut appliquer au Prophète que les attributs que Dieu, ou lui-même, a employés. A plus forte raison en ce qui concerne Dieu.

Objection: Les Persans emploient „Khudāy" pour désigner Dieu, les Turcs „Tengri". Or il n'y a pas de détermination scripturaire à ce sujet.

Réponse: c'est l'*ijmāʿ* qui légitime cet emploi.

Chapitre cinquième: *Division des noms*

Les noms sont:

A. Ou des noms de l'essence (*asmā' li 'l-dhāt*)

1) pour une personne déterminée: c'est le nom propre (*ism al-ʿalam*)
2) pour une essence universellement: c'est le nom générique (*ism al-jins*)

B. Ou des noms d'une partie de l'essence

C. Ou des noms d'une chose en dehors de l'essence.

Ce sont les attributs.

Il faut examiner chacune de ces catégories de noms pour voir s'ils peuvent s'appliquer à Dieu.

Au sujet des noms propres personnels, les opinions sont divergentes. Beaucoup d'auteurs disent qu'on ne peut pas les appliquer à Dieu. Premièrement, parce que les noms propres de personnes jouent le rôle de signe, d'indication (*ishāra*). Or on ne peut pas désigner Dieu. Deuxièmement, ils supposent une communauté de personnes dans le genre ou l'espèce. Enfin, troisièmement, tous les attributs en Dieu sont „universels".

Il faut cependant dire que certaines personnes peuvent recevoir une communication spéciale de Dieu leur révélant son essence propre (*dhātuhu 'l-makhṣūṣa*). Dans ce cas on peut appliquer à Dieu le nom propre de personne.

Pour les noms désignant une partie de l'essence, il est impossible de les appliquer à Dieu, car il est simple.

Enfin, les noms désignant les attributs peuvent être:

1) positifs réels (*thubūtīya ḥaqīqīya*); par exemple: existant (*maujūd*), chose (*shai'*), vivant (*ḥaiy*).
2) positifs relatifs (*thubūtīya iḍāfīya*); par exemple: adoré (*ma'būd*), connu (*ma'lūm*), remercié (*mashkūr*).
3) négatifs (*salbīya*); par exemple: saint (*quddūs*), paix (*salām*), riche (*ghanī*), un (*wāḥid*).
4) réels et relatifs (*al-ḥaqīqīya ma'a 'l-iḍāfīya*); par exemple: savant (*'ālim*), puissant (*qādir*), voulant (*murīd*).
5) réels et négatifs (*al-ḥaqīqīya ma'a 'l-salb*); par exemple: éternel (*qadīm*), prééternel (*azalī*).
6) relatifs et négatifs (*al-iḍāfīya ma'a 'l-salbīya*); par exemple: premier (*auwal*) (c'est-à-dire antérieur à autrui: relation; non précédé par un autre: négation).
7) réels, négatifs et relatifs (*ḥaqīqīya ma'a 'l-iḍāfīya wa 'l-salb*); par exemple: le roi (*al-malik*); c'est-à-dire qui existe (attribut réel); dont d'autres ont besoin (attribut relatif); qui n'a pas besoin des autres (attribut négatif).

Etant donné que les négations et les relations sont sans limites, les noms divins sont également en nombre infini.

Les *aṣḥāb* divisent les attributs en trois catégories:

1) attributs essentiels (*ṣifāt dhātīya*); par exemple: *al-maujūd*, *al-shai'*, et quelquefois les attributs négatifs comme: un, riche, saint.
2) attributs de qualification (*ṣifāt ma'nawīya*) qui indiquent des significations se trouvant dans l'essence; par exemple: *'ālim*, *qādir*, *ḥaiy*.
3) attributs opératifs (*ṣifāt fi'līya*) qui indiquent un effet émanant de la puissance divine.

Exposé de la théorie des „modes" (*aḥwāl*) de Abū Hāshim (sans que celui-ci soit nommé) (p. 25): intermédiaires entre l'existant et l'inexistant. D'après cette théorie, les attributs seraient des modes, selon le schéma suivant: Ce qui assure la réalité de ces modes, c'est 1) ou bien l'essence divine (initialement, *ibtidā'an*, ou par l'intermédiaire d'autres modes): on a alors affaire aux attributs essentiels; 2) ou bien des *maʿānī* qui se trouvent dans l'essence divine: on a alors affaire aux attributs de qualification (*al-ṣifāt al-maʿnawīya*). Quant aux attributs opératifs, ils ne constituent pas un mode réel (*ḥāla thābita*) de l'essence divine, ni des *maʿānī*, mais ils sont constitués par la pure émanation des effets à partir d'elle.

Discussion sur la création et son éternité. Les Falāsifa affirment que la création découle nécessairement de Dieu; Dieu ne serait plus un agent libre. Les Falāsifa en arrivent là (*dhālika ṣarīḥ kalām al-falāsifa*). Ce qui est une destruction de l'Islam (*wa-huwa hadm al-islām*).

Certains théologiens divisent les attributs en:

1) attributs nécessaires (*ṣifāt wājiba*), soit essentiels, (*dhātīya*) soit de qualification (*maʿnawīya*).
2) attributs impossibles (*ṣifāt mumtaniʿa*); par exemple: corporel.
3) attributs possibles (*ṣifāt jāʾiza*); par exemple: visible.

Chapitre sixième. Mérites du dhikr *au moyen des noms divins et des attributs*

Preuves tirées du Coran (4 passages classiques: 7, 179; 17, 110; 20,7; 59,24); des informations (*akhbār*), p. 35; de la raison, p. 40.

Chapitre septième: Mérites respectifs du dhikr *et de la réflexion* (fikr). [1]

La réflexion (ou: le raisonnement , la considération, *al-fikr*) est la base (*aṣl*). Et le *dhikr* est le fruit qu'elle donne. On peut, selon le point de vue envisagé, donner successivement plus de mérite à l'une ou l'autre forme de piété.

Chapitre huitième: Discussion sur le mérite qu'accorde la tradition au 99 *noms divins.*

Le *ḥadīth* suivant, remontant à Abū Huraira est rapporté dans le *Ṣaḥīḥ*: „A Dieu appartiennent 99 noms. Celui qui les dénombrera (*man aḥṣāhā*) entrera au Paradis". Une autre tradition, remontant également à Abū Huraira, donne une variante: „A Dieu appartiennent 99 noms, cent moins un, celui qui les dénombrera entrera au Paradis." Six questions sont posées et discutées au sujet de ce *ḥadīth*:

1) La question de son authenticité, contestée par Abū Yazīd al-Balkhī (p. 48).
2) S'agit-il d'une limitation du nombre des noms divins? Réponse: non. Rāzī donne d'autres exemples de déterminations numériques dans les prescriptions cultuelles.

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[1] Sur le *dhikr*, cf. L. Gardet, "La mention du nom divin en mystique musulmane," dans *Revue Thomiste* (1952), 642-679; (1953), 197-216.

3) Il est difficile de croire que le nombre quatre-vingt-dix-neuf soit tel qu'on ne puisse trouver un centième nom.
4) Raisons pour lesquelles le Prophète a ajouté au nombre 99: „cent moins un" (seconde version du *ḥadīth*) (p. 53).
5) Discussion sur l'ordre des noms, sur lequel il n'y a pas unanimité (p. 54).
6) Que signifie, dans le *ḥadīth* rapporté, le terme „*aḥṣā*"? (p. 56).

Chapitre neuvième: *Nature de la prière de demande* (duʿā')

La prière de demande consiste à implorer de Dieu sa sollicitude (*al-ʿināya*), à lui demander le secours (*al-maʿūna*). Elle a pour but de montrer à l'homme son besoin de Dieu, de l'amener à confesser qu'il n'y a pas d'autre puissance que celle de Dieu. C'est là le propre de la créature, humiliée devant Dieu. Cette confession est une manière de louer Dieu: on reconnaît sa générosité et sa munificence.

Rāzī rapporte les diverses objections de ceux qui prétendent que la prière de demande est inutile.

Première objection. Si l'on sait que l'objet de la prière va arriver, il n'y a pas besoin de le demander.

Deuxième objection. Si Dieu veut ce qui est demandé, il le donnera sans qu'on le demande. Si l'objet demandé n'a pas été préfixé dans l'éternité, il est inutile de le demander.

Troisième objection. Dieu connaît nos besoins, et le fond de nos cœurs.

Quatrième objection. Si ce qui est demandé est pour le bien de celui qui prie, Dieu le lui donnera de toute façon. Si ce qui est demandé n'est pas pour son bien, Dieu le lui refusera, toujours sans prière, car Dieu est sage.

Cinquième objection. Un *ḥadīth* assurant que Dieu a fixé de toutes éternités les événements.

Sixième objection. Les hommes avancés en sainteté arrivent au *riḍā*, agréant tout ce que Dieu leur envoie. Ils ne doivent plus s'occuper d'eux-même, mais uniquement de Dieu.

Septième objection. La prière de demande ressemble à la commanderie du bien et à l'interdiction du mal: on semble donner une leçon à Dieu en lui rappellant ce qu'il a à faire.

Huitième objection. Un *ḥadīth* dit: „Celui qui s'occupe de moi en pensant à moi, au lieu de me demander quelque chose, je lui donnerai plus que je ne donne à ceux qui demandent."

Après avoir exposé ces objections, Rāzī, donne cinq arguments démontrant que la prière de demande est le plus haut degré du culte, puis il réfute les objections précédentes.

Chapitre dixième: *Le Nom suprême* (al-ism al-aʿẓam)

Les opinions sont divergentes à ce sujet. Rāzī les expose et les discute. Nous ne mentionnons que la formulation des thèses en présence.

A. Il n'y a pas de nom suprême déterminé.

B. Il y a un Nom suprême déterminé:

1) ce nom est connu des hommes:

a) c'est „Lui” (*huwa*); b) c'est Allāh; c) c'est le vivant subsistant (*al-ḥaiy al-qaiyūm*); d) c'est „*dhū 'l-jalāl wa 'l-ikrām*”; e) il est mentionné dans les lettres mystérieuses qui se trouvent au début de certaines sourates; f) certains noms hébreux, ou syriaques.

2) ce Nom suprême est inconnu des hommes.

Rāzī rapporte l'opinion d'Abū 'l-Barakāt al-Baghdādī qu'il appelle *al-ḥakīm al-kabīr*, texte pris du *Kitāb al-muʿtabar* (III, 121), et à la conclusion duquel il se rallie complètement (*wa-huwa ghāyat al-taḥqīq fī hādhā 'l-bāb*). Voici cette conclusion: Dieu connaît son essence d'une connaissance vraie, essentielle. Il peut communiquer, par illumination intérieure, à l'un de ses fidèles cette connaissance, et il n'est pas impossible qu'il lui fasse également connaître le nom de cette réalité spéciale.

DEUXIÈME PARTIE: ETUDE DÉTAILLÉE DES NOMS DIVINS

Rāzī intitule cette étude *al-maqāṣid wa 'l-ghāyāt*. C'est le corps même de l'ouvrage. Il passe en revue chacun des noms divins, après avoir, au préalable, étudié les deux termes: *Huwa* (pp. 73-79) et *Allāh* (pp. 79-114). Il serait trop long de donner même un résumé de ces pages. Nous allons nous contenter de donner la liste des noms divins, dans l'ordre de leur succession chez Rāzī, en indiquant la page où le nom est étudié. Pour faciliter la recherche, nous avons établi également un ordre alphabétique de ces noms, avec renvoi au numéro d'ordre de la première liste.

		Pages
	Huwa (Lui)	73- 79
	Allāh	79-114
1.	*al-Raḥmān* (le Bienfaiteur)	114-130
2.	*al-Raḥīm* (le Miséricordieux)	114-130

3. *al-Malik* (le Roi)	130-140
4. *al-Quddūs* (le Saint)	140-141
5. *al-Salām* (la Paix)	141-143
6. *al-Muʾmin* (le Fidèle)	143-145
7. *al-Muhaimin* (le Tutélaire)	145-147
8. *al-ʿAzīz* (le Puissant)	147-149
9. *al-Jabbār* (Celui qui contraint)	149-151
10. *al-Mutakabbir* (l'Altier)	151-153
11. *al-Khāliq* (le Créateur)	153-157
12. *al-Bāriʾ* (le Créateur)	157-158
13. *al-Muṣauwir* (Celui qui façonne)	158-160
14. *al-Ghaffār* (Celui qui pardonne)	160-167
15. *al-Qahhār* (le Dominateur)	167-169
16. *al-Wahhāb* (le Dispensateur)	169-171
17. *al-Razzāq* (le Pourvoyeur)	171-172
18. *al-Fattāḥ* (Celui qui ouvre)	172-173
19. *al-ʿAlīm* (l'Omniscient)	173-176
20. *al-Qābiḍ* (Celui qui retient les grâces et les bienfaits)	176-177
21. *al-Bāsiṭ* (le Munificent)	176-177
22. *al-Khāfiḍ* (Celui qui abaisse)	177-178
23. *al-Rāfiʿ* (Celui qui élève)	177-178
24. *al-Muʿizz* (Celui qui exalte)	178-179
25. *al-Mudhill* (Celui qui humilie)	178-179
26. *al-Samīʿ* (Celui qui entend)	179
27. *al-Baṣīr* (Celui qui voit)	180
28. *al-Ḥakam* (le Juge)	180-183
29. *al-ʿAdl* (le Juste)	184
30. *al-Laṭīf* (le Bienveillant)	185-186
31. *al-Khabīr* (le Sagace)	186-187
32. *al-Ḥalīm* (le Longanime)	187-189
33. *al-ʿAẓīm* (l'Inaccessible)	189-191
34. *al-Ghafūr* (Celui qui remet les péchés)	191
35. *al-Shakūr* (Celui qui reconnaît les bienfaits)	191-195
36. *al-ʿAlī* (le Très-Haut)	195-196
37. *al-Kabīr* (le Grand)	196-198
38. *al-Ḥafīẓ* (le Gardien vigilant)	198-200
39. *al-Muqīt* (Celui qui nourrit)	200
40. *al-Ḥasīb* (le Suffisant; Celui qui demande des comptes)	201-202
41. *al-Jalīl* (le Majestueux)	203
42. *al-Karīm* (le Généreux; le Noble)	203-205

43. *al-Raqīb* (le Vigilant; Celui qui contrôle) 205-207
44. *al-Mujīb* (Celui qui exauce les vœux) 207
45. *al-Wāsiʿ* (le Libéral) 207-209
46. *al-Ḥakīm* (le Sage) 209-211
47. *al-Wadūd* (l'Aimant) 211-212
48. *al-Majīd* (le Glorieux) 212
49. *al-Bāʿith* (Celui qui ressuscite les morts) 213
50. *al-Shadīd* (le Témoin) 214-215
51. *al-Ḥaqq* (la Vérité). 216-218
52. *al-Wakīl* (Celui qui gère les intérêts) 218-219
53. *al-Qawī* (le Fort). 219-221
54. *al-Matīn* (l'Inébranlable) 219-221
55. *al-Walī* (l'Ami) 221-223
56. *al-Ḥamīd* (Laudabilis) 223
57. *al-Muḥṣī* (le Comptable) 223
58. *al-Mubdiʿ* (l'Initiateur) 224
59. *al-Muʿīd* (le Restaurateur). 224
60. *al-Muḥyī* (Celui qui fait naître). 224-225
61. *al-Mumīt* (le Maître de la mort) 224-225
62. *al-Ḥaiy* (le Vivant). 225
63. *al-Qaiyūm* (le Subsistant) 226-228
64. *al-Wājid* (Celui qui trouve) 228
65. *al-Mājid* (l'Excellent) (non mentionné) 229-234
66. *al-Aḥad* (l'Un) 229-234
67. *al-Ṣamad* (l'Immuable) 234-236
68. *al-Qādir* (le Puissant) 236-237
69. *al-Muqtadir* (l'Omnipotent) 236-237
70. *al-Muqaddim* (Celui qui fait avancer) 237-239
71. *al-Muʾakhkhir* (Celui qui fait reculer) 237-239
72. *al-Auwal* (le Premier, l'Ancien des jours) 240-246
73. *al-Ākhir* (le Dernier) 240-246
74. *al-Ẓāhir* (le Visible) 240-246
75. *al-Bāṭin* (l'Invisible) 240-246
76. *al-Wālī* (le Protecteur) 246
77. *al-Mutaʿālī* (le Très-Haut). 246
78. *al-Barr* (le Bienfaisant) 247
79. *al-Tauwāb* (Celui qui ramène à lui pécheur) 248
80. *al-Muntaqim* (Celui qui tire vengeance) 249
81. *al-ʿAfw* (l'Indulgent) 249-250
82. *al-Raʾūf* (le Compatissant) 251

83. *Mālik al-mulk* (le Maître du Royaume)	252
84. *Dhūʾl-jalāl wa ʾl-ikrām* (le possesseur de la majesté et de l'honneur)	252
85. *al-Muqsiṭ* (l'Equitable)	252
86. *al-Jāmiʿ* (Celui qui rassemblera les humains au jour du jugement)	252
87. *al-Ghanī* (le Riche)	253
88. *al-Mughnī* (Celui qui enrichit)	253
89. *al-Muʿṭī* (Celui qui comble)	253
90. *al-Māniʿ* (Celui qui refuse)	253
91. *al-Ḍārr* (Celui qui nuit)	253-254
92. *al-Nāfiʿ* (Celui qui est utile)	253-254
93. *al-Nūr* (la Lumière)	254-256
94. *al-Hādī* (le Guide)	256
95. *al-Badīʿ* (l'Incomparable; l'Innovateur)	257
96. *al-Bāqī* (Celui qui demeure; l'Eternel)	257
97. *al-Wārith* (l'Héritier)	257-258
98. *al-Rashīd* (Celui qui dirige)	258
99. *al-Ṣabūr* (le Patient)	258-259

Comme on peut le voir par la pagination, les noms divins sont traités par Rāzī d'une façon plus ou moins longue, et cela selon l'importance des problèmes qu'ils posent. Ordinairement, Rāzī cite d'abord les versets coraniques qui les mentionnent, [1] puis examine, sous forme de „questions" posées (*masāʾil*), les points doctrinaux que tel ou tel nom soulève, signale des „points délicats" (*laṭāʾif*) et, en conclusion, ne manque que rarement de signaler au croyant pieux l'enseignement qu'il peut tirer, pour sa propre vie, de la méditation du nom divin examiné.

Liste des 99 noms divins classés d'après l'ordre alphabétique (le chiffre, placé après le nom, renvoie à la place du nom dans la première liste)

al-ʿAdl (29)
al-ʿAfw (81)
al-Aḥad (66)
al-Ākhir (73)
al-ʿAlīm (19)
al-ʿAlī (36)
al-Auwal (72)
al-ʿAẓīm (33)

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[1] On sait qu'un certain nombre des noms divins ne se trouvent pas dans le Coran; par exemple: *al-Walī*, *al-wājid*, *al-rashīd*, *al-ṣabūr*, *al-muqaddim*, *al-muʾakhkhir*, *al-muqsiṭ*, *al-ḍārr*, *al-nāfiʿ*.

al-ʿAzīz (8)
al-Badīʿ (95)
al-Bāʿith (49)
al-Bāqī (96)
al-Bārī (12)
al-Barr (78)
al-Baṣīr (27)
al-Bāsiṭ (21)
al-Bāṭin (75)
al-Ḍārr (91)
Dhū ʾl-jalāl wa ʾl-ikrām (84)
al-Fattāḥ (18)
al-Ghaffār (14)
al-Ghafūr (34)
al-Ghanī (87)
al-Hādī (94)
al-Ḥafīz (38)
al-Ḥakam (28)
al-Ḥakīm (46)
al-Ḥalīm (32)
al-Ḥamīd (56)
al-Ḥaqq (51)
al-Ḥasīb (40)
al-Ḥaiy (62)
al-Jabbār (9)
al-Jalīl (42)
al-Jāmiʿ (86)
al-Kabīr (37)
al-Karīm (42)
al-Khabīr (31)
al-Khāfiḍ (22)
al-Khāliq (11)
al-Laṭīf (30)
al-Majīd (48)
al-Mājid (65)
al-Malik (3)
Mālik al-mulk (83)
al-Māniʿ (90)
al-Matīn (54)
al-Muʾakhkhir (71)
al-Mubdiʿ (58)
al-Mudhill (25)
al-Mughnī (88)
al-Muhaimin (7)
al-Muḥṣī (57)
al-Muḥyī (60)
al-Muʿīd (59)
al-Muʿizz (24)
al-Mujīb (44)
al-Muʾmin (6)
al-Mumīt (61)
al-Muntaqim (80)
al-Muqaddim (70)
al-Muqīt (39)
al-Muqsiṭ (85)
al-Muqtadir (69)
al-Muṣauwir (13)
al-Mutaʿālī (77)
al-Mutakabbir (10)
al-Muʿṭī (89)
al-Nāfiʿ (92)
al-Nūr (93)
al-Qābiḍ (20)
al-Qādir (68)
al-Qahhār (15)
al-Qawī (53)
al-Qaiyūm (63)
al-Quddūs (4)
al-Rāfiʿ (23)
al-Raḥīm (2)
al-Raḥmān (1)
al-Raqīb (43)
al-Rashīd (98)
al-Raʾūf (82)
al-Razzāq (17)
al-Ṣabūr (99)
al-Salām (5)
al-Ṣamad (67)
al-Samīʿ (26)
al-Shahīd (50)

al-Shakūr (35)
al-Tauwāb (79)
al-Wadūd (47)
al-Wahhāb (16)
al-Wājid (64)
al-Wakīl (52)
al-Walī (55)
al-Wālī (76)
al-Wārith (97)
al-Wāsiʿ (45)
al-Ẓāhir (74)

Troisième partie. Appendices et compléments

Beaucoup de noms divins se trouvent dans le Coran, la Tradition, les informations qui n'ont pas été retenus dans la liste des 99 noms. Rāzī en cite un certain nombre.

Noms de l'essence: 1) *al-Shaiʾ*; 2) *al-Qadīm*; 3) *al-Azalī*; 4) *Wājib al-wujūd li-dhātihi*; 5) *al-Dāʾim*; 6) *al-Jism*: admis par les Karrāmīya, mais rejeté par Rāzī (et les Ashʿarites); 7) *al-Jauhar* (substance): admis par les chrétiens, mais rejeté par les musulmans, „parce que le *jauhar* est un nom de l'essence à laquelle peuvent advenir forme et figure; ce qui est impossible en ce qui concerne Dieu" (p. 261).

Noms des attributs de qualification (asmāʾ al-ṣifāt al-maʿnawīya): 1) *al-Muḥīṭ* (Celui qui enveloppe); 2) *al-Qarīb* (le Proche); 3) *al-Mudabbir* (le Provident), auquel se rattachent: *al-Qādir*, *al-Murīd*, *al-qaṣd* (non coranique), *al-mashīʾa*, *al-ikhtiyār*; 4) *al-maḥabba* (l'amour); 5) *al-riḍā* (la satisfaction); 6) *al-sakhṭ* (la malédiction); 7) *al-ghaḍab* (la colère); 8) *al-muwālā* (l'amitié; l'assistance); 9) al-Muʿādā (l'inimitié); 10) *al-karāha* (l'aversion).

Rāzī mentionne également un certain nombre de noms qu'il ne convient pas d'appliquer à Dieu: *al-tamannī* (le souhait), *al-shahwa* (le désir), *al-ʿazm* (la résolution, la décision).

Le Caire, janvier 1963

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A RECENT DECISION OF THE JUDICIAL COMMITTEE OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL

Riziki binti Abdulla and Another
v.
Sharifa binti Mohamed bin Hemed and Others. [1]

BY

J. N. D. ANDERSON

On 17 December, 1962, judgment was delivered by their Lordships of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in this appeal from a decision of the Court of Appeal for Eastern Africa dated 10 December, 1959. This, in its turn, had dismissed an appeal against a judgment of the Supreme Court of Kenya declaring ineffective a written instrument by which a woman sought to create a waqf in favor of two adopted daughters and certain other beneficiaries. Unhappily, there can be little doubt that the Muslims of East Africa will regard this latest waqf case as yet another unsatisfactory link in a rather dismal chain of mistaken decisions and somewhat inept attempts to remedy the situation by legislation—partly frustrated, in turn, by the rigid and restrictive interpretation put on that legislation by the courts. It may well be that, in all the circumstances, this last judgment was almost inevitable, and it is certain that only legislation can now put matters right; but some four points in this judgment are, perhaps, worth further discussion.

1. *The general attitude of the courts as to what constitutes a valid waqf.*

This is, of course, the starting point of all the trouble. The basic misconception on this subject dates back to a series of Indian decisions in the nineteenth century, culminating in the judgment of their Lordships of the Privy Council in *Abul Fata* v. *Russomoy* [2] in which waqfs were declared to be invalid if they did not include a substantial gift for charitable purposes according to the English—not the Islamic—interpretation of the term "charitable." If, therefore, a waqf primarily consisted in a family perpetuity, but with a provision that the income should be devoted to the poor if and when the family should become extinct, this "charitable element" in the waqf was, naturally enough, regarded as "so remote as to be illusory." The fact that Ameer Ali had proved, [1] with a wealth of scholarship, that this was not the Islamic doctrine at all—and that the final gift to the poor was regarded as essential by *some* jurists only (such as Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Shaibānī), and then not to provide a charitable element which would otherwise be lacking, but merely to ensure a beneficiary who could never fail—was quietly and firmly disregarded, on the grounds that "Their Lordships have endeavoured to the best of their ability to ascertain and apply the Mahomedan law, as known and administered in India; [2] but they cannot find that it is in accordance with the absolute, and as it seems to them extravagant, application of abstract precepts taken from the mouth of the Prophet. Those precepts may be excellent in their proper application. They may, for aught their Lordships know, have had their effect in moulding the law and practice of wakf . . . But it would be doing wrong to the great law-giver to suppose that he is thereby commanding gifts for which the donor exercises no self-denial; in which he takes back with one hand what he appears to put away with the other; which are to form the centre of attraction for accumulations of income and further accessions of family property . . ." [3]

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[1] Privy Council Appeal No. 63 of 1960 ([1963], 2W. L. R. 475).

[2] 22 I. A. 76.

There can, indeed, be no doubt that Ameer Ali greatly weakened his argument in *Bikani Mia's Case*, at least insofar as their Lordships were concerned, by his references to the Koran, the traditions and the basic tenets of Islam. This is obvious from the quotation from Lord Hobhouse's judgment given above, and from his assertion that Ameer Ali's opinion was "founded . . . upon texts of an abstract character, and upon precedents very imperfectly stated." He would certainly have been wiser to have confined his argument to quotations from the recognized textbooks of the schools. But, with respect, their Lordships were somewhat disingenuous in disregarding the wealth of evidence from these textbooks which he did in fact adduce to the effect that waqfs primarily designed for the support of a family —whether that of the founder or of any other person—were regarded as perfectly valid by *all* Muslim lawyers, and that many of the leading jurists did not even insist on any mention whatever of the poor, as ultimate beneficiary.[1] Indeed, the Hanafi Abū Yūsuf regarded the mere use of the word waqf as implying that, on the extinction of named beneficiaries, the income should be so devoted; the Shafi'is discuss at length how the income of a waqf should be disposed of after the failure of any specified beneficiaries;[2] and the Malikis— of whom, admittedly, there are very few representatives in India— explicitly allow a waqf which is actually to terminate after any named beneficiary or beneficiaries (for example, the family of the founder) become extinct.

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[1] In *Bikani Mia's Case* (1892), Ind. L.R. 20 Cal. 116.

[2] For Lord Hobhouse expressly stated that "Clearly the Mahomedan law ought to govern a purely Mahomedan disposition of property." Great emphasis must, however, be put on the phrase "in India" in this dictum, for their Lordships' researches seem to have been limited to judicial decisions, not the classical texts. This is understandable, if regrettable; but makes the extension of this judgment to Africa—as in *Fatuma's Case*—the more indefensible.

[3] But it is certainly a pity that their Lordships allowed themselves to reason in this "abstract" way (on subjects about which they knew next to nothing) and to speculate as to what the Prophet of Islam might, or might not, have said and intended, instead of consulting the standard textbooks of Islamic law, according to all its different schools. Tyabji's observation is significant in this context: "In this decision their Lordships seemed to refer for the law not to the recognized texts of Muhammadan law but to what must have been in the mind of the Prophet-apparently in disregard of principles on which decisions are usually given. (*Muhammadan Law*, 538, n. 18.).

Their Lordships also betrayed their ignorance of Islamic law as a whole when they asked "how it comes about that by the general law of Islam, at least as known in India, simple gifts by a private person to remote unborn generations of descendants, successions that is of inalienable life-interests, are forbidden; and whether it is to be taken that the very same dispositions, which are illegal when made by ordinary words of gift, become legal if only the settlor says that they are made as *wakf*, in the name of God, or for the sake of the poor. To those questions no answer was given or attempted, nor can their Lordships see any." But to this question the obvious answer would have been that a clear-cut distinction is regularly made, in Islamic law, between dispositions which concern the corpus (*ʿain*) of some piece of property, on the one hand, and dispositions which concern its usus or fructus (*manāfiʿ*), on the other. "Ordinary words of gift" concern the corpus; and a donor who makes a gift of the corpus (namely, a *hiba*) cannot exercise any control whatever over its future disposition. But the very nature of a waqf is that the *ʿain* should be immobilized, and only the *manāfiʿ* distributed to the beneficiaries; and in such circumstances wholly different principles obtain. [1] When, moreover, their Lordships imply that a mere change of words could scarcely effect so radical a transformation of law, the answer must be two-fold: first, that this is in fact much more than a mere change of words; and, secondly, that it is a characteristic feature of Islamic law that what may not be done in one way may, not infrequently, be perfectly validly effected in another. [2]

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[1] Ameer Ali in fact argued—with a wealth of quotations from the classical texts in support—that "From the promulgation of Islam (sic) up to the present day, there has been an absolute consensus of opinion regarding the validity of *wakf*s on one's children, kindred and neighbours. Practical lawyers, experienced judges, high officers of every sect and school under Mussulman sovereigns are all in unison on this point. There are minor differences, viz. whether a *wakf* can be created for one's self, whether the unfailing object should be designated...; but so far as the validity of a *wakf* constituting one's family or children the recipients of the benefaction, in whole or in part, is concerned, there is absolutely no difference. A *wakf* is a permanent benefaction for the good of God's creatures: the *wākif* may bestow the usufruct, but not the property, upon whomsoever he chooses and in whatever way he chooses..." This is an accurate statement of the Islamic law.

[2] Cf. my article on "Waqfs in East Africa," *Journal of African Law*, III, 3 (1959), 154, n. 1.

It is perfectly true that there are a number of valid objections—on social and economic grounds—to those family perpetuities which the different schools of Islamic law all permit. These objections have, indeed, led to the introduction of legislation in a number of countries in recent years either totally forbidding the creation of waqfs in favor of individuals or limiting the period of time, or the series of beneficiaries, to which such waqfs may be extended. [3] It may well be, moreover, that similar legislation should be introduced in other countries too, for the antipathy felt by the courts for such perpetuities, as evidenced by the decisions to which reference has already been made, is certainly not without reason. But it is surely preferable to effect a reform of this sort by direct and explicit legislation rather than by a series of judicial misinterpretations of the ancient texts. Unhappily, however, their Lordships—in the case under discussion—repeat yet again that "In the creation of a wakf a substantial gift for charitable purposes, for instance a gift to the poor, is a material element." But this statement rests on a complete misapprehension. The essence of a waqf is not "charity" in the English sense, but an "approach to God" (*qurba*); [1] and this is regarded as inherent in the creation of a waqf as such, and the consequent immobilization of the corpus, even where the whole usufruct is retained (in the Hanafi law) for the founder himself, or (in all schools) for a long series of named beneficiaries, whoever they may be.

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[1] Cf. Tyabji, *Muhammadan Law*, 380 ff. This distinction between *ʿain* and *manāfiʿ* was very fully and clearly recognized by the Judicial Committee itself in *Sardar Nawazish Ali Khan's Case* (75 I. A. 62). "What Muslim law does recognize and insist upon, is the distinction between the corpus of the property itself (ayn) and the usufruct of the property (manafi). Over the corpus of property the law recognizes only absolute dominion... and where a gift of the corpus seeks to impose a condition inconsistent with such absolute dominion the condition is rejected as repugnant; but interests limited in point of time can be created in the usufruct of the property and the dominion over the corpus takes effect subject to any such limited interests... Muslim law admits only ownership unlimited in duration, but recognizes interests of limited duration in the use of property."

[2] See "Waqfs in East Africa," 152 f.

[3] See my article "Recent Developments in the Sharīʿa Law IX," *The Muslim World*, (October, 1952).

2. *The Mussalman Wakf Validating Act*

The attitude of the courts in India (culminating in *Abul Fata's Case*) as to the essentials of a valid waqf was so alien to the convictions of the Muslim communities in the sub-continent that an attempt was made to remedy the situation in 1913 by the promulgation of the Mussalman Wakf Validating Act.

This is officially described as "An Act to declare the rights of Mussalmans to make settlements of property by way of 'wakf' in favour of their families, children and descendants," and proceeds:—"Whereas doubts have arisen regarding the validity of wakfs created by persons professing the Mussalman faith in favour of themselves, their families, children and descendants and ultimately for the benefit of the poor . . . and whereas it is expedient to remove such doubts . . ." The text of the Act follows, and concerns itself exclusively with the major grievance of the Muslim community, when it provides:

> It shall be lawful for any person professing the Mussalman faith to create a wakf which in all other respects is in accordance with the provisions of Mussalman law, for the following among other purposes: —
>
> a) for the maintenance and support wholly or partially of his family, children or descendants, and
>
> b) where the person creating a wakf is a Hanafi Mussalman, also for his own maintenance and support during his lifetime or for the payment of his debts out of the rents and profits of the property dedicated:
>
> Provided that the ultimate benefit is in such cases expressly or impliedly reserved for the poor or for any other purpose recognised by the Mussalman law as a religious, pious or charitable purpose of a permanent character.
>
> No such wakf shall be deemed to be invalid merely because the be-

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[1] See my article "The Religious Elements in Waqf Endowments," *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society* (July, 1951).

> nefit reserved therein for the poor... is postponed until after the extinction of the family, children or descendants of the person creating the wakf.
>
> Nothing in this Act shall affect any custom or usage whether local or prevalent among Mussalmans of any particular class or sect.

Certain points in this Act have, however, given rise to much doubt and debate. In the first place, controversy has raged around the proper interpretation of the founder's "family, children or descendants," in complete disregard of the fact that a Muslim may, under the Islamic law of *all* the schools, equally well make a waqf in favor of a non-relative and *his* family, or a series of non-relatives. It is perfectly true that the Act does not make any mention of this fact: but it does (a) expressly state that its basic purpose was to resolve the doubts which had "arisen regarding wakfs made by persons . . . in favour of *themselves and their families*";[1] (b) make explicit mention of the "provisions of Mussalman law"; (c) state that a waqf may be made for the specified persons "among other purposes"; and (d) explicitly add that "Nothing in this Act shall affect any custom or usage whether local or prevalent among Mussalmans of any particular class or sect." It is arguable, therefore, that the reason why the family and descendants of the founder were singled out for special mention was purely because British courts had taken the view that a perpetuity in favor of the founder's own family could not be regarded as a charitable endowment—an argument which would apply with much less force where the beneficiaries were unrelated to him, or were only remotely so related.

Again, much dispute has centered on the meaning of the phrase "maintenance and support." An attempt has been made on occasions, indeed, to give these words the most severely restricted interpretation, quite regardless of the fact that any such limitation has no relevance whatever to the Islamic law of *all* the schools. It is, moreover, somewhat of a mystery where these words came from and how they found their way into the Act. It may be that they represent an echo of English law;[2] or, conceivably, that they reflect a misapplication of the Arabic phrase "eat of the waqf." But, however that may be, even in the case under discussion their Lordships held that there was a wide difference between "an absolute gift of income," on the one hand, and one for "maintenance and support," on the other; and they proceeded (somewhat laboriously) to illustrate their view by asserting that "upon the widest interpretation of those words which could in the context be possibly urged, their Lordships are of the view that it could not be urged that they cover gambling." It should be observed, however, that the Indian Act uses exactly the same phrase about "maintenance and support" in reference to the founder himself, if a Hanafi, and then immediately adds "or for the payment of his debts out of the rents and profits of the property dedicated." Would their Lordships therefore suggest that such debts are to be limited to those properly incurred in respect of "maintenance and support" in the narrow sense? There is no such suggestion in the Act, and it is submitted that this addition provides at least some evidence that the phrase "maintenance and support" was intended to cover expenditure of any nature. In any case it is beyond dispute that the Islamic jurists, while sometimes severely restrictive in what they allowed the founder of a waqf to reserve for his own benefit, had no such inhibitions in what they allowed him to provide for his family or any other beneficiaries; and it would be strange indeed if the Act is to be construed in the exactly contrary sense.

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[1] The italics are mine.

[2] Although there is nothing to indicate this in the debate on the Act (*Proceedings of the Legislative Council*, I [April 1912-March 1913]).

3. *Fatuma's Case*

The judgment under discussion also refers, at some length, to the decision of the Judicial Committee in the case of *Fatuma binti Mohamed bin Salim Bakhshuwen* v. *Mohamed bin Salim Bakshuwen*,[1] in an appeal from a decision of the Court of Appeal for Eastern Africa dismissing an appeal from the Supreme Court of Kenya. But this has always seemed to me, with deep respect, one of the most unsatisfactory judgments ever enunciated by that august body.[2] The points which disturb me are chiefly these:

(a) Their Lordships did "not doubt that the learned Judge was correct in saying that the rights of the parties were governed by Mohammedan law,"[3] but added that "it would not appear that this, now at least, rests in any way upon the Native Courts Regulations" of 1897. It would, however, be exceedingly interesting to know on what foundation, in their Lordships' opinion, the applicability of Islamic law did rest, for it is precisely to these Regulations, and to no other source, that I have myself been able to trace it.

(b) Commenting on cases such as *Abul Fata's Case* and *Bikani*

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[1] [1952] A. C. 1.

[2] See my *Islamic Law in Africa* (London, 1954), 340-342.

[3] P. 14.

Mia's Case, their Lordships remarked that "whatever views might have been entertained in the eighteenth and earlier centuries, by the end of the nineteenth the trend of judicial opinion was firmly set in favour of the view that such wakfs were invalid, and . . . the conclusions to which the High Court of Calcutta and this Board came were inevitable." Now this, no doubt, was substantially true of the trend of decisions in what has aptly been termed "Anglo-Muhammadan" law as it was applied in India, but has no relevance whatever to the pure doctrine of the Islamic texts.

(c) But in spite of this fact, their Lordships continued: "Nor does it avail the appellant that in parts of the world outside India where Mohammedan law obtains, whether in Africa or in Asia, such wakfs as these are considered to be valid. Their Lordships are not satisfied of the general truth of this proposition; but, even if it were so, that would not be such fresh light as would justify the Board in reversing its previous decision." One wonders, however, first what would satisfy their Lordships of a fact which is perfectly obvious to anyone who consults the authoritative texts, and, secondly, what "fresh light" would be necessary to justify them in reversing a previous decision recognized as erroneous by all competent scholars.

(d) But they need not, in point of fact, have "reversed" their previous decision; all they needed to do was to distinguish it. And this would have been perfectly simple, on one or both of two different grounds:

(i) On the ground that their previous decision was in a case governed by Hanafi law, while *Fatuma's Case* was governed by Shafiʿi law. And while the waqf in question would have been valid under either system, there is (as we have seen) a debate in the Hanafi school as to whether there must be an *ultimate* dedication to the poor, whereas the Shafiʿis do not insist on any such requirement.

(ii) On the grounds that their former decision was within the sphere of "Anglo-Muhammadan law" rather than the Islamic law of the texts. This was clearly recognized by Hamilton J. in the Kenya case of *Talibu bin Mwijaka* v. *Executors of Siwa Haji*, [1] where he remarked that "the law of wakf as originally understood by the Commentators and Mohammedan jurists has in India . . . been profoundly modified by the decisions of the Privy Council. A study of the question shows that while the Mohammedan law, uninfluenced from outside sources, permitted perpetuities and the erection of wakfs for family aggrandizement solely, the influence of English Judges and of the Privy Council has gradually encroached on this position." Just so; but their Lordships would have none of this. Instead, they remarked that "it has not been suggested that, apart from the Shafiʿi, Hanafi and other sects . . ., Mohammedan law is not the same in East Africa as in India. The appellants have themselves relied on its universality and invoke the text of the Koran and the writings of learned commentators who expounded the law not of East Africa or any part of it but of the whole Muslim world."

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[1] 2 E.A.L.R. 33.

Precisely. But the commentators to whom they appealed are, one and all, radically opposed to the view adopted by their Lordships. And the judicial decisions on which their Lordships in reality relied had absolutely nothing to do with the Shafiʿi law as it should be applied in East Africa, but found their sole justification in the sphere of the "Anglo-Muhammadan" law which obtains in the Indian sub-continent.

4. *The Kenya Ordinance of* 1951

The decision of the Judicial Committee in *Fatuma's Case* prompted legislation in Kenya designed to undo the harm that had been done —just as has happened, successively, in India, Zanzibar and Aden. This took the form of the Wakf Commissioners Ordinance, 1951. It is obvious, moreover, that a sincere—though not very successful —attempt was made, when this Ordinance was in draft, to improve on the Indian model in at least two respects:

(a) The clause regarding the family of the founder was changed from the phraseology employed in the Indian and Zanzibar equivalents (which had duly appeared in the original Bill published in the Official Gazette of 30 January 1951),[1] so as to comprise the words "*any person including*[2] the family, children, descendants or kindred of the maker."

These words have, not altogether surprisingly, caused the courts the utmost difficulty to construe. The courts in Kenya have interpreted the words as "apt to cover any living person or persons though not belonging to the class of the maker's family, children, descendants or kindred," but *not* any deceased person outside that class. And their

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[1] Cf. the discussion of this point by Sir Newnham Worley, V. P., in *Amina binti Abdulla's Case* (1954) 21 E. A. C. A. 12.

[2] The italics are mine.

Lordships, with great respect, have made equally heavy weather of the formula.

There can, however, be little doubt as to what the legal draftsman intended, however inexpert he was in putting his intention into execution. It seems inescapable that he was trying to cover the point —mentioned above, and reiterated at that very time in Kenya—that the classical texts make no distinction in this context between a waqf in favor of the founder's own family or of "any other person" (and, indeed, *his* family). But it is certainly a pity that he did not express his intention by saying "of any person or persons including the family, children, descendants or kindred of the maker or of anyone else"; or "of the family, children, descendants or kindred of any person including the maker"; or, indeed, "of the family (etc.) of the maker or of any other person." As for the alleged "tautology" of adding any reference to the family of the founder after the phrase "any person," this is, I think, adequately explained by the historical circumstance that it was perpetuities in favor of the founder's own family which had been expressly invalidated by the courts.

(b) An express proviso was inserted, which reads: "Provided that the absense of any reservation of the ultimate benefit in property the subject of a wakf for the poor or any other purpose recognised by Muslim law as a religious, pious or charitable purpose of a permanent character shall not invalidate the wakf if the personal law of the maker of the wakf does not require any such reservation." And there cannot, surely, be any doubt that this proviso was added to cover the fact that whereas, in the Hanafi law, the necessity for some such dedication is a matter of dispute between Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Shaibānī and Abū Yūsuf, in the Shafiʿi law it is crystal clear that the income of a waqf may be devoted to named beneficiaries without any mention whatever of an ultimate beneficiary which cannot fail. Unhappily, however, this proviso seems to have been completely ignored by the courts.

Equally unfortunately, moreover, the phrase "maintenance and support"—which had not, up till that time, given rise to any significant controversy [1]—was taken over from the Indian Act, as was also the proviso that: "No wakf to which subsection (i) of this section applies shall be invalid merely because the benefit in the property reserved by such wakf for the poor or any religious, pious or charitable purpose is not to take effect until after the extinction of the family, children, descendants or kindred of the maker of the wakf." The insertion of these words is, again, explicable only in the historical context of those cases which had invalidated waqfs in which the "charitable purpose" (in the English, not the Islamic sense of that term) was so postponed; but it was certainly a lapse by the legal draftsman that the reference to "any person" did not also reappear in this sub-section.

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[1] See, for example, Tyabji's *Muhammadan Law*, where the question is not discussed at all. The first Indian case in which this matter was discussed, so far as I know, was *Abdul Karim Adenwalla* v. *Rahimbai and Others* (A.I.R. 1946 Bom. 342); Cf. also *Faqir Mohammad* v. *Abda Khattoon and Others* (A.I.R. 1957 All. 94); *Rashidunissa* v. *Ata Rasool* (A.I.R. 1958 All. 67); etc.

It is evident, then, that the draftsmanship of this Ordinance left much to be desired. All the same, it is regrettable that their Lordships, in construing it, did not have more regard to the apposite dictum of Sir John Colville in a different context many years previously, when he said that their Lordships "are of opinion that in construing this remedial statute they ought to give to it the widest operation which its language will permit. They have only to see that the particular case is within the mischief to be remedied . . ." [1] Instead, it would appear that the courts have consistently acted on the principle that the "mischief to be remedied"—that is, their initial misconception of the essential nature of a waqf—must be jealously maintained in every case which is not explicitly covered by some remedial statute, construed in the most restrictive way.

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[1] *Sayad Mir Ujmudin Khan* v. *Ziarel-Nissa and Others* (L.R. 6 Ind. App. 137 at pp. 143-144).

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THE *SĪRA* IN VERSE

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Arabic versifications of grammar, jurisprudence, the sciences of the Koran and Traditions, medicine, mathematics and other branches of knowledge abounded in the Middle Ages. It has been fairly said that these compositions were more remarkable as easy aids to learning than for any poetic merit. [1] Credit for being the first to apply this technique to the biography of the Prophet Muhammad is assigned to Abū Naṣr Fatḥ b. Mūsā al-Khaḍrāwī al-Qaṣrī al-Maghribī (d. 663/1264); [2] his original poem appears to have perished, but an anonymous abstract has survived. [3] This example was followed by the mystic and polymath ʿIzz al-Dīn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Aḥmad al-Dīrīnī (d. 697/1297); though several specimens of his versemaking have been preserved, [4] this particular work seems to be lost. A few other scholars attempted the same task, [5] but the fruits of their labors have long since vanished. Forgotten with them has been what was surely the most ambitious and, so far as one can judge, the most meritorious of all, a work which forms the subject of the present paper.

In the stormy history of Syria and Egypt under the Mamluks, "the last fifty years of the eighth/fourteenth century were indeed lamentable"; [6] tossed on the fluctuating sea of those sanguinary events was a man who in quieter times might have made a great contribution to learning and literature, and whose name it is now possible to rescue from total oblivion. Fatḥ al-Dīn Abū Bakr (Abū 'l-Fatḥ) Muḥammad b. ʿImād al-Dīn Abī Isḥāq Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm b. Abī 'l-Karam al-Shāfiʿī al-Nābulusī al-Dimashqī, known as Ibn al-Shahīd, was born in 728/1328. Of his early years nothing is recorded, but evidently he benefited from a good general education, to the extent that in Dhū 'l-Qaʿda 764 (August 1362) he was promoted to high rank in the Secretariat at

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[1] See F. Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography*, 157-163.
[2] *Ibid.*, 326; Ḥājjī Khalīfa, III, 635.
[3] Brockelmann, *GAL*, Supplement, I, 206.
[4] *Ibid.*, I, 452; Suppl., I, 811.
[5] Rosenthal, *op. cit.*, 326; Ḥājjī Khalīfa, III, 635.
[6] G. Wiet, in *EI*², I, 1051.

Damascus and also appointed *Shaikh al-shuyūkh*. After holding these two offices for three and a half years he was dismissed, but was reinstated some months later; with intervals of disfavor he occupied the two posts for some fifteen years in all, and also taught in the Nāṣirīya and Ẓāhirīya Madrasas. The powerful and ambitious Mamluk officer Minṭāsh appointed him preacher, and he became renowned for the eloquence of his addresses. Presently, however, he incurred the displeasure of the amir Saif al-Dīn, governor of Syria, who dismissed him and confiscated his estates. Going into hiding, Ibn al-Shahīd consoled himself by composing a metrical life of the Prophet. When Barqūq became Sultan he ordered him to be arrested on the charge of being implicated in Minṭāsh's conspiracy; he was brought to Cairo and committed to the prison of common criminals. Finally Barqūq commanded him to be executed; he was beheaded near the Citadel on the last day of Shaʿbān 793 (1 August 1391). [1]

Ibn al-Shahīd's epic, entitled *al-Fatḥ al-qarīb fī sīrat al-Ḥabīb*, was known to Ḥājjī Khalīfa [2] and al-Sakhāwī; the latter included it in his list *al-Iʿlān bi 'l-taubīkh li-man dhamma ahl al-ta'rīkh*, describing it as containing "some ten thousand verses with additions which show his great scholarly qualifications" [3]—a phrase copied word for word from Ibn Ḥajar. [4] Ibn Taghrībirdī says that the poem was in 50,000 verses. [5] Ibn al-ʿImād in his description estimates the length at 25,000 verses and also mentions *al-Rauḍ*, [6] that is *al-Rauḍ al-unuf al-bāsim* of al-Suhailī (d. 581/1185), [7] as one of the sources used by the poet; the work is elsewhere stated to have been based on the *Sīra* of Ibn Hishām. [8] We also learn from Ibn al-ʿImād that the poem was studied by Shihāb al-Dīn b. Ḥijjī (d. 816/1413) [9] who lectured on it in Cairo and composed a twelve-volume commentary on one third of the epic. All authors mentioning Ibn al-Shahīd praise his learning and literary gifts in extravagant terms, and Ibn al-Furāt quotes an elegy on his death composed by Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Dunaisirī called Ibn al-ʿAṭṭār, who died one year after Ibn al-Shahīd. [1]

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[1] Ibn al-Furāt, ed. C. K. Zurayk, IX, 286-287; Ibn Taghrībirdī, ed. W. Popper, V, 609; Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar al-kāmina*, III, 296-297; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, VI, 329-330.

[2] Ḥājjī Khalīfa, IV, 375, n° 8875.

[3] Rosenthal, *op.cit.*, 326.

[4] *al-Durar*, III, 296.

[5] *Loc. cit.*

[6] *Shadharāt*, VI, 330.

[7] *GAL*, I, 413; Suppl. I, 734.

[8] Ḥājjī Khalīfa, IV, 375.

[9] *GAL*, II, 50; Suppl. II, 50.

Whatever fame and popularity this metrical biography of the Prophet may have enjoyed at one time, it had long since vanished; and neither it nor Ibn Ḥijjī's commentary was known to Brockelmann. Now, however, a copy has turned up in the Chester Beatty Library, not indeed of the whole work, but of its second and third volumes; the interest of the discovery is enhanced by the fact that the third volume, though unsigned, is very evidently the original draft of the author and has been extensively annotated by him. A description of these two volumes follows.

Description of Manuscript

5116(1). Folios 291, measuring 27.2 × 18.4 cms., 17 lines to the page, containing approximately 9,800 verses. The transcription, in an excellent scholar's Naskhi hand, is on the whole very accurate; here and there some omitted verses have been added on the margin by a more cursive writer. The copy may have been compiled during the author's lifetime and was in any case completed before 809/1407, when it was deposited in a library in Cairo. The paper is of fine quality, thick and polished, and is in an excellent state of preservation.

5116(2). Folios 244, measuring 27 × 18.4 cms., 17 lines to the page, containing approximately 8,200 verses. Transcribed in a clear, bold scholar's Naskhi, not so calligraphic as 5116(1), with many marginal annotations in a more cursive and much smaller hand. The paper is not quite as thick as that of 5116(1) but is of good quality, polished and well-preserved.

Appended to 5116(2) are three reading certificates, apparently in the author's autograph. The first of these is dated Sunday, 4 Rajab 789 (21 July 1387) and is in favor of Shams al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Shihāb al-Dīn Abī ʾl-ʿAbbās Aḥmad al-Ḥanbalī al-Ḥabatī. [2] The second is dated Jumādā II 789 (June-July 1387) and is in favor of Shihāb al-Dīn Abū ʾl-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm b. Abī ʾl-ʿAbbās Aḥmad al-Murshidī al-Makkī al-Shāfiʿī. [3] (It is interesting to observe that al-Sakhāwī confirms that Shihāb al-Dīn al-Murshidī studied the poem with Ibn al-Shahīd at Cairo.) The third is dated Thursday, 13 Shauwāl 790 (15 October 1388) and is in favor of

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[1] *GAL*, II, 15.

[2] Born 745/1346, died 814/1411; see al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍauʾ al-lāmiʿ* VII, 107.

[3] Born 763/1362, died 832/1429; see *al-Ḍauʾ*, I, 191, *Shadharāt*, VII, 198.

Shams al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ṣafī al-Dīn Abī ʾl-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. al-Kāzarūnī al-Shāfiʿī al-Madanī. [1]

This volume, like the preceding, was deposited in 809/1407 in a Cairo library.

Contents of Poem

It is evident that the lost first volume took the narrative of the Prophet's life from his birth down to and including the battle of Badr.

The first rubric in 5116(1) relates to the events immediately following the battle of Badr "according to Ibn Saʿd, and regarding this there is some difference of opinion":

ذكر ما كان بعد غزوة بدر من بقيّة العام الثاني من الهجرة النبويّة على صاحبها أفضل الصلاة والسلام فمن ذلك سريّة عمير بن عدي الأنصاري لقتل عصماء بنت مروان وسريّة سالم بن عمير لقتل أبي عفك اليهودي وقد أورد ابن سعد هذا هنا فى هذا العام وفيه نظر

ذكر أمور بعد مرجع الرسول   من بدر فى ذا العام يأتي فى فصول

This opening section is immediately followed by a short account of the expedition against the Banū Sulaim at al-Kudr which is based directly on Ibn Hishām.

وبعد مقدم النبي من بدر   أقام سبعاً من ليال عشر
ثم أتى ماء بني سليم   يريد غزواً فى رحال القوم
قرقرة الكدر يسمى الماء   طير هناك أرضها ملساء
فلم يقم غير ثلاث ورجع   لم يلق كيداً اذ جلوا من الجزع
وبن أم مكتوم أو بن عرفطه   سباع عامل له فلتضبطه

The corresponding passage in Ibn Hishām reads: [2]

قال ابن اسحاق : فلمّا قدم [رسول اللّه صلّعم] لم يقم بها إلّا سبع ليال [حتّى] غزا بنفسه يريد بني سليم . قال ابن هشام : واستعمل على المدينة سباع بن عرفطة الغفاري ، أو ابن أم مكتوم . قال ابن اسحاق : فبلغ ماءً من مياههم يقال له الكدر فأقام عليه ثلاث ليال ثم رجع الى المدينة ولم يلق كيداً .

This is a fair specimen of the manner in which Ibn al-Shahīd paraphrases his original. The affair of Khaibar is given extended treatment; the following extract from the beginning of the narrative is quoted as an example of the poet's style.

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[1] Born 757/1356, died 843/1440; see *al-Ḍauʾ*, VII, 96-97, *Shadharāt*, VII, 247.

[2] (Cairo, 1355/1936), III, 46.

للقول فى الغنيمة المعجّله   بشارةً بأختها المؤجّله
وهى الّتي خُصص بالقرآن   بها أنامى بيعة الرضوان
بعد ثلاث من غزاة قرد   سار رسول اللّه فى ذا العدد
فى أخريات العام فى المحرّم   لخيبر لغزو كلّ مجرم
وقيل سار فى جمادى الأولى   سنة سبع فاقتفى المنقولا
واستخلف الليثى نُميلةً على   طيبة لمّا بالجيوش رحلا
وقيل بل سباعاً بن عرفطه   رواه أحمد كذا أو ضبطه
ولأبى طلحة قال آلتمس   لي خادماً فجاءه بأنس
فكان فى المسير والقفول   يخدمه من لدن النّزول
وحمل اللواء أبيضاً على   ونقل ذا عن آبن اسحق جلى
وسيجيُ أنّه تخلّفا   لرمد وللحاق آستأنفا
قالوا وكانت معه أمّ سلمة   قلت لمعنى خصّها ومكرمه
فانّ من خرج فى ذي الكرّة   هم الذين خرجوا للعمره
وخرجت أيضاً نساء مسلمات   يأتي بذكر بعضهنّ كلمات
منهنّ من غفار زوج جندب   فى نسوة خرجن عن إذن النبي
فجاء بالعسكر عصراً فبنى   فى يومه ذلك مسجد الهنا
وعن سويد وهو آبن نعمان   نزل فى الصهبا بتلك الأعيان
صلّى بها العصر وثُرّى السويق   فاكلت مع النبي تلك الفريق
قال ومضمضنا وصلّى الغربا   لم يتوضّأ ثم أمّوا الطلبا
وغطفان يوم ذا لخيبر   حلف على النبي وهم فى زمر
فسار بالعسكر حتّى نزلا   وادى الرجيع منزلاً دون الملا
فخرجوا مظاهرين للعدى   حتّى اذ اما جاوزوا بعض المدى
ردّوا يظنّون النبيّ قصداً   اليهم فلم يُسَدّوا مددا
ما ردّهم إلاّ سماع زجل   فى أهلهم فانفتلوا للوجل
فكان هذا أوّل الأعلام   فى خيبر لنصرة الإسلام

The concluding section in 5116(1) is headed: *dhikru man ʿamila li ’l-nabīyi ṣallā ’llāhu ʿalaihi wa-sallama wa-māta ʿalaihi ’l-salāmu wa-hum ʿalā aʿmālihim.* This section is a versification of the section *khurūju ’l-umarāʾi waʾl-ʿummāli ʿalā ’l-ṣadaqāti* in Ibn Hishām. [1] The colophon of 5116(1) reads: *tamma ’l-juzʾu ’l-thānī bi-ḥamdi ’llāhi wa-ʿaunihi wa-ḥusni taufīqihi yatlūhu in shāʾa ’llāhu taʿālā dhikru ḥajjati ’l-wadāʿi sanata ʿashrin wa-yuqālu ḥajjatu ’l-islāmi.*

This promise is duly kept, for 5116(2) begins:

dhikru ḥajjati ’l-wadāʿi sanata ʿashrin wa-yuqālu ḥajjatu ’l-islāmi
wa-baʿda mā ʾṭmaʾanna khāṭiru ʾl-nabī
an lā yaḥujja mushrikun fi ʾl-ʿarabī

This section, based (the author declares) upon Ibn Ḥazm’s *Lubāb*, [2] is followed by an account of the last expedition of the Prophet’s life, that of Usāma b. Zaid to Syria. [3] This concludes:

fa-qabla dhikrinā ’l-wafāta nanẓamu
dhikra muhimmātin lahā ’l-taqaddumu
wa-hya fuṣūlun yā akhā ’l-najāba
fa-hāka fī ’l-aulādi wa ’l-qarāba

There ensue lists of the children of the Prophet, his uncles and aunts with their families, and his wives, [4] the women to whom he proposed but did not marry, his concubines, freedmen, serving-women, male servants and guards, the “Ten” and the *Ahl al-Ṣuffa.* A catalogue follows of the Prophet’s personal possessions, his swords, bows, arrows, lances, armor, helmets, banners, horses, mules, camels, clothes, bedding and utensils.

A long section recounts the miracles of the Prophet, pride of first place naturally being assigned to the Koran:

aʿẓamuhā mā lam yakun li-aḥadi
mina ’l-nabīyīna siwā Muḥammadi
wa-hwa ’l-Qurʾānu ’l-munzalu ’l-munaẓẓamu
min kalimāti ’llāhi ʿazza ’l-muḥkamu
anzalahu ’llāhu bi-ʿilmihi ʿalaih
wa-Jibraʾīluhu muballighun ilaih

Predictions of events which took place after the Prophet’s death end with the foretelling of the advent of the Antichrist. Then comes an enumeration of the Prophet’s triumphs over evil spirits and the Devil, leading to an exposition of his physical and moral excellences, his acts and sayings.

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[1] *Ibid.*, IV, 246-247.

[2] No work by Ibn Ḥazm with this title has been traced.

[3] Ibn Hishām, IV, 291.

[4] Only the wives are listed in Ibn Hishām, IV, 293-298.

al-qaulu fī shamā'ili 'l-Rasūli
ḥasba 'lladhī fī kutubi 'l-uṣūli
kullu nabīyin ba'atha 'llāhu ḥasan
wajhan wa-ṣautan kāmilun khalqa 'l-badan

(The author has annotated this verse on the margin: *hādhā ḥadīthu 'l-Tirmidhī 'an Qutāda: Mā ba'atha 'llāhu nabīyan illā ḥasana 'l-wajhi ḥasana 'l-ṣauti wa-kāna nabīyukum ṣallā 'llāhu 'alaihi wa-sallama aḥsanahum wajhan wa-aḥsanahum ṣautan.* This volume indeed is liberally provided with such annotations, and it is permissible to conjecture that in his original draft Ibn al-Shahīd annotated the whole poem in similar fashion.)

This sequence is very extensive, covering more than fifty folios. It is followed by a summary account of the events of each of the first ten years of the Hijra; then at last comes the final section of the biography on the mortal sickness and death of the Prophet.

ذكر وفاة النبي صلّعم وفى ذلك فصول من أوّل استشعاره الوفاة ومرضه ووصيّته وما كان فى مدّة مرضه الى أن توفّاه اللّه واجتماع المسلمين يوم وفاته على بيعة أبن بكر رضه

وَٱلْيَوْمَ أَكْمَلْتُ لَكُمْ فى عرفه   أُنْزِل حجّ النبي فلتعرفه
وسورة النصر تلتها بالنزول   فى أوسط التشريق من حجّ الرسول
فاستشعر النبيّ بالوحيين   قرب الوفاة وحلول الحين

The scene of the Prophet's death is painted in sober and dignified colors with a remarkable fidelity to the historical sources.

ومن تمام هذه الروايه   ما قد تأكّدت به العنايه
أنّ رسول اللّه لمّا انصرفا   دعا أسامةً أمير الحنفا
وظهره مستند لنحره   فعزم الأمر له فى نفره
قالوا وكانت آخر الصلاة   هذي فما صلّى الي الممات
قُبض قبل أن تحلّ الظهر   وكان بين الحالتين أمر
خرج بالعسكر بعد الفجر   أسامة للجرف حسب الأمر
وذهب الصدّيق بعد الصبح   ونفسه طيّبة للسنح
وكلّ من رأى النبيّ فرحا   وعاد نحو أهله منشرحا
واجتمعت الى النبي أزواجه   يرين أن قد انقضى انزعاجه
فأخلف الظنّ وعاد الكرب   وذهب السهل وجاء الصعب

ثم آتى أسامة فودّعه   فرفع النبيّ يدعو إصبعه
وكان قد أصمت لم يرجع اليه   حرفاً فولّى وهو خائف عليه
وبعثت فاطمة الى علي   وعائش الى أبيها أقبل
وحفصة لعمر أن آسبق   ولأسامة آمّ أيمن آلحق
ثم خرجن يتوكّفن الرجال   أن يدركوا شمس الضحى قبل الزوال
وأخذته عائش لصدرها   فمات بين سحرها ونحرها
وكان قد شخص للسماء   فيما لعائش من الأنباء
وهو بقول للرفيق الأعلى   ثم أحسّت منه بعد ثقلا
ومال رأسه عليها ونقط   من فيه ماء بارد ثم هبط
قالت فقفّ شعرى وقلت ما   أشدّ غشيه الذي قد زحما
ولم أكن عالجت قبل ميّتا   فقلت بالغشى الشديد أصمتا
وكان قد دعا بطست ليبول   فحال دون بوله هذا الذبول
قالت فسجّيت النبيّ ثوبا   وصار أمره عليّ غيبا

The poem ends with a sequence in monorhyme in the form of a colophon.

فالحمد لله على التمام   والحمد مسك البدء والختام
يشفع بالصلاة والسلام   على النبي سيدّ الأنام
وآله وصحبه الكرام   ما مسح الصبح آثمد الظلام
ورضي الله عن الأعلام   التابعين معقل الإسلام
وسلف الأمّة من إمام   رفعه الله على الطغام
بحفظه قواعد الأحكام   والعلم بالحلال والحرام
والمتبتلّين للقيام   بسبحة الصلاة والصيام
المهتدين سبل السلام   أهل المكاشفات والإلهام
فهم من العرفان فى مقام   أعلى وفى الذروة والسنام
نعم ومثل الملح فى الطعام   لنا ومثل الشمس للأيّام
وليس دون الشمس من غمام   فنورها هاد على الدوام
ليس بكاسف ولا كهام   ولا بغارب ولا لمام

نور النبيّ عَلَمِ الأعلام   فإنه مدد ذي الأقوام
ومعدن الإحسان والإنعام   صلّى عليه الله ذو الإكرام
ما نُقشت معاقد النظام   فى ورق بإبر الأقلام
وقادت القلوبَ بالزمام   من السطور عُقَدُ الكلام
وأخرجت زهراً من الأكمام   لواقحُ الفكر والأفهام

Let it be admitted that Ibn al-Shahīd here wrote no great poetry; nevertheless he was capable of composing pleasant and competent verse. It may be conceded, on the brief evidence herein presented, that he has deserved to be rescued from oblivion.

Ibn al-Shahīd used many sources in putting together his epic. Ibn Hishām is basic, and frequently—as the short specimens given above demonstrate—his very words are skilfully reproduced and rearranged to meet the requirements of meter and rhyme. But numerous other authorities are freely invoked, especially in the concluding volume and in the marginal annotations there abounding. A detailed study of these references would make an intricate and rewarding academic exercise, presenting a useful picture of the state of learning in the eighth/fourteenth century, and establishing the author as a scholar of wide attainments. This essay may perhaps stimulate some other researcher to undertake a more thorough investigation; here let it suffice, in conclusion, to list some of the authors cited.

List of Sources

Ibn Isḥāq, Ibn Hishām, Ibn Sa‘d, al-Nasā’ī, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, Muslim, Ibn al-Athīr, Ibn Māja, al-Wāqidī, al-Ṭabarī, al-Bukhārī, al-Suhailī, al-Shāfi‘ī, al-Balādhurī, al-Dāraquṭnī, al-Baihaqī, Ibn Ḥazm, Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, al-Ṭabarānī, al-Dhahabī, Ibn Qudāma, Abū Dāwud, al-Dimyāṭī, al-Tirmidhī, Ibn Abī Ḥātim, ‘Iyāḍ, Mughlaṭā’ī, Ibn Manda, Abū Ya‘lā, al-Baghawī, al-Shāshī al-Qaffāl, Ibn Abī ’l-Dunyā, Ibn al-Jauzī, al-Nawawī, al-Jauharī, al-Dārimī, al-Māwardī, Mālik b. Anas.

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ST. JOHN DAMASCENE:

Survey of the Unpublished Arabic Versions of his Works in Sinai

BY

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Introduction

The biography of St. John Damascene [1] is beyond the limitations of this essay which is chiefly intended to introduce students of divinity and philosophy to the hitherto unknown Arabic versions of some of his works still in manuscript. Nevertheless, some data of the saint's life are inevitable background for the comprehension and appraisal of the descriptive material of the codices in the following pages which are extracted from the detailed Catalogue Raisonné of the Sinai Arabic Collection. [2]

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[1] On the life and work of St. John, the following book selection is useful. F. A. Perrier, *Jean Damascène, Sa vie et ses écrits* (Strasbourg, 1863); J. D. Grundlehner, *Joannes Damascenus* (Utrecht, 1876); J. Langen, *Johannes von Damaskus* (Gotha, 1879); J. H. Lupton, *St. John of Damascus* (in *The Fathers for English Readers*, [London 1883]); C. Bertani, *Vita di San Giovanni Damasceno* (Monza, 1899); K. J. Diobuniotes, *John of Damascus* (in Greek) (Athens, 1903); V. Ermoni, *Saint Jean Damascène* (in *La Pensée Chrétienne* [Paris, 1904]); D. Ainslee, *John of Damascus* (London, 1906); J. Nasrallah, *Saint Jean de Damas* (Harissa, 1950); K. Bornhäuser, *Die Vergottungslehre des Athanasius und des Johannes Damascenus* (Gütersloh, 1903); J. Bitz, *Die Trinitätslehre des hl. Johannes von Damaskus* (Paderborn, 1909); V. A. Mitchell, *The Mariology of St. John Damascene* (Kirkwood,, 1930); C. Chevalier, *La mariologie de saint Jean Damascène* (Rome, 1936); A. Laily, *L'influence liturgique et musicale de saint Jean de Damas* (Harissa, 1950); J. Meany, *The Image of God in Man according to the Doctrine of Saint John Damascene* (Manila, 1954); B. Studer, *Die theologische Arbeitsweise des Johannes von Damaskus* (Ettal, 1956); Asad J. Rustum, *The Church of the City of God Great Antioch* (3 vols. [Beirut, 1958], in Arabic), II, 63-78. Further references and special articles may be found in K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur* (2nd edn., Munich, 1897), 674-76; O. Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur*, 5 vols. (Freiburg 1913-32), V, 51-65; G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, 5 vols. (Vatican City, 1944-53), I, 377-379; *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*, 3 vols. (Brussels, 1957), cf. Index; *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique* (Paris, 1903 ff.), cf. article by M. Jugie, VIII, 693-751; H. G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* (Munich, 1959), 476-87; B. Altaner, *Patrologie* (1950 edn.), 474-78.

[2] The complete Catalogue Raisonné of the Arabic Sinai Manuscripts is still to be published, though I have collated its substance from several visits to the Monastery of St. Catherine. In the meantime, I have published a hand-list of the

The saint lived approximately between the years 675 and 749, one of the most critical periods in the history of the Near East. Born in Damascus of Syrian parentage, he died a monk and an ordained priest at the Monastery of Mar Saba south of Jerusalem. He spoke Syriac and knew Arabic, although he was a prolific writer in Greek—hence his description as the last great Father in the realm of Greek patrology. He was probably the greatest systematic theologian and "doctor" in the annals of the Eastern Church, but his name appears in the lives of saints of both east and west.

In Arabic, he is known as Yūḥanna b. Manṣūr b. Sarjūn (i.e. Sergius) who, owing to the eloquence of his homiletics, earned from his contemporaries and from posterity the surname "Chrysorrhoas" [1] —a Greek epithet meaning "Streaming with Gold." He was a contemporary of the Byzantine Emperors Leo the Isaurian (717-741) and Constantine Copronymus (741-775) during whose reigns the Iconoclastic Movement split the whole Christian world in two opposite camps. St. John became the foremost protagonist of image worship and an inveterate enemy of iconoclasm which he was able to attack undisturbed within the frontiers of the Islamic Empire.

It is interesting to note that his life coincided with almost the whole of the Umayyad Caliphate in his native town of Damascus. He must have been born in the reign of Muʿāwiya I (661-668), the first Umayyad Caliph, and died in the reign of Marwān II (744-750), the last of the Umayyad line in Syria. His father retained the high office of finance secretary and "Logothete" or chief representative of his people at the Caliphal court, and John succeeded him in both capacities on his death. Thus, we must assume that he was personally acquainted with the Caliphs of his time, notably ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān (685-705) and al-Walīd (705-715). It is said that he participated in debates of Christians and Muslims in presence of the Caliphs and that he must have met the Christian poet Laureate al-Akhṭal, one of the famous literary trio of early Arab poetry, the other two being al-Farazdaq and Jarīr. [2]

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microfilmed manuscripts for the Library of Congress in a volume entitled, *The Arabic Manuscripts of Mount Sinai* (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1955), cf. 9 ff.

[1] Recalling his earlier Antiochene namesake St. John Chrysostom (ca. 347-607), another Doctor of the Church who became Archbishop of Constantinople, known for his eloquence and homiletics which earned him the epithet "Golden-mouthed."

[2] Asad Rustum, *op. cit.*, II, 64-70; P. K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, 6th edn.

St. John owed his theological education to Cosmas Melodus, later Bishop of Maïuma or Ghazza, and formerly a slave whom John's father obtained from the Caliph and then freed and made his son's chief mentor. Beyond a series of somewhat legendary episodes recorded by his biographers, [1] John is known to have retired from public life and abandoned the dignity of office while still in his thirties to become a monk at St. Saba's Monastery and devote his later years to the accomplishment of his vast literary work. After some years of austerity, he became an ordained priest, and his homilies, commentaries, epistles and versified hymns won for him much fame during his lifetime.

To St. John, we owe the greater part of the "Octoechus" [2] still read in the Eastern Church. He is noted as one of the greatest hymnologists of all time. He demonstrated his monumental erudition in the "Sacra Parallela", [3] an accumulation of scriptural and patristic material which he compiled and organized for moralistic purposes largely lost. The ascetic tale of "Barlaam and Yoasef" [4] has been ascribed to him,

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(London, 1958), 245-46; R. A. Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs* (Cambridge, 1956), 238-46; H. A. R. Gibb, *Arabic Literature*, 2nd edn. (Oxford, 1963), 42-43.

[1] The chief medieval biographer of the Saint is John VIII Patriarch of Jerusalem in the tenth century. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, XCIV, 429-90; cf. *Catholic Encyclopedia*, VIII, 459-61, article by John B. O'Connor. That biography is semi-legendary, and the only contemporary notice on St. John is ascribed to Stephen Thaumaturgus, another monk of St. Sabas who died in 794, that is, some forty-five years after John's decease. Beck, *op.cit.*, 507-8; cf. F.L. Cross (ed.), *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (Oxford, 1957), 755. A third Arabic life by Micchael of Antioch dates from 1085 and has been published by Constantin El-Bacha (Harissa, Lebanon, 1912). Cf. Asad Rustum, *op. cit.*, II, 69; Cross, *op cit.* 736.

[2] The literal meaning of this Greek word is "book of the eight tones," so named after the eight variations of tune in the eastern liturgies for each of the eight weeks between the first Sunday after Whitsun and the tenth Sunday before Easter. Cf. Cross, *op. cit.*, 975.

[3] F. Loofs, *Studien über die Johannes von Damaskos zugeschriebenen Parallelen* (Halle, 1892); K. Holl, *Die Sacra Parallela des Johannes Damascenus* (Leipzig, 1896); *ibid.*, *Fragmente vornicänischer Kirchenväter aus den Sacra Parallela herausgegeben* (Leipzig, 1899); A. Ehrhard, *Zu den "Sacra Parallela" des Johannes Damascenus und dem Florilegium des Maximos*, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, X (1901), 394-415; S. Haidacher, *Chrysostomos-Fragmente im Maximos-Florilegium und in den Sacra Parallela*, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XVI (1907), 168-201. Cf. Beck, *op. cit.*, 482 n. 4.

[4] See in particular F. Dölger, *Der griechische Barlaam-Roman, ein Werk des Hl. Johannes von Damaskos*, (Ettal, 1953); H. Zotenberg, "Notice sur le texte et les versions orientales du livre de Barlaam et Joasaphat," *Notices et extraits des mss. de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, XXVIII, 1 (1887), 1-166. Cf. Hitti, *op. cit.*, 246; Beck, *op. cit.*, 482, n. 5.

though this must really have come from the life of Buddha in India through Pahlevi texts. The citation is made by Ibn al-Nadīm in "Kitāb al-Fihrist" of "Kitāb al-Budd" (i.e. Buddha) and "Kitāb Būdāsaf."

John's greatest contribution, however, is represented by his immense composition of systematic theology entitled "Fount of Knowledge" [1] in which for the first time he applied the Aristotelian categories to matters of Christian dogma and doctrine. The outcome was an imposing encyclopedic trilogy in which he organized all the theological learning of his time on a philosophical basis. The first tome of his trilogy was the "Heads of Philosophy," the Greek "Kephalaia Philosophika," and the Latin "Dialectica," where he sought support from Aristotle to prove his thesis. The second was a "Compendium of Heresies" where he quoted the older work of Epiphaneus on the subject and added Islam and Iconoclasm. The third was "An Accurate Summary of the Orthodox Faith," destined to become the accepted definition of Christian Orthodoxy by subsequent generations. In 1150, Pope Eugenius commissioned John Burgundio of Pisa [2] to translate into Latin so authoritative a work; and it was through this channel that St. John Damascene must have influenced medieval scholastic thought. Both Peter Lombard and St. Thomas Aquinas appear to have fallen under his spell, and St. John is sometimes described as the "Father of Scholasticism."

The thesis is sometimes promoted that, in his own lifetime, he left his mark also on Islamic thought through his forceful and apologetic debating at the Caliph's court. Whether the assumption that his logic was instrumental in the development of the "Qadarīya sect" or school of thought in Islam is a subject open to further scrutiny in the light of the source material here revealed. But it is not unlikely that the swing of the pendulum from early Islamic predestinarianism to the liberalism of Mu'tazilite free thought must have opened the minds to the acceptance of some of St. John's arguments that God's directive power in all things could not eliminate man's power over his actions for which he bore his own responsibility. This is apparently the Qadarite [1] view which doubtlessly was in existence and became accepted in St. John's age.

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[1] Complete first edition of the Damascene's works by M. Lequien in Paris 1717, then in Venice 1748, later reproduced by Migne in *Patr. Graeca*, XCIV-XCVI (Paris, 1864), with supplement derived from Andrea Gallandi (*Bibliotheca veterum patrum antiquorumque scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Graecorum*, 14 vols., 1765-81), and other patrologists such as Angelo Mai (1782-1854) who became a Jesuit, published several collections from the classics and Church Fathers, and was a noted reader of palimpsests. For the English translation of his works, see S. D. F. Salmond in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Church Fathers*, 2nd series, IX (1899).

[2] E. M. Buytaert, ed., *St. John Damascene, "De fide orthodoxa" versions of Burgundio and Çerbanus* (Louvain, 1955); cf. Beck, *op. cit.*, 480.

It is hoped that the discovery and further study of St. John's Arabic versions may help to elucidate this Qadarite theory and other facets of Islamic thought where his philosophy was not unknown. Of course, it is easy to exaggerate the issue and one must therefore approach these obscure and difficult subjects with reservation. The most striking fact is that recent studies do not reveal any acquaintance with the manuscripts whose catalogue we propose to outline in the following pages. Georg Graf's [2] monumental compilation of Christian Arabic authors and their writings comprises a chapter on John of Damascus where useful references are made to many details of his work, but his accounts are completely tacit on the Sinaitic manuscripts which are definitely the most important and oldest of his remains in Arabic.

The earliest translation on record of both the "Dialectica" and the "De Fide Orthodoxa" was presumably executed in the tenth century by Antonius [3] Abbot of St. Simeon's Monastery in the neighborhood of Antioch. The other interpreter of John's *Opera* in Arabic was Archbishop ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Faḍl b. ʿAbd Allāh [4] with whose work we are concerned in the Sinaitic collection. All the manuscripts under review are probably of the same provenance and approximately the same dates, since all belong to the thirteenth century. Codex 317 dated 1223 appears to be the most explicit on the questions of provenance and authorship. It is probably the source from which other copyists produced other codices, although the matter of comparative textual study must be left for other occasions and to other scholars whose competence can reach the Greek originals of those Arabic versions. The first step is the critical study, collation and publication of the Arabic authorized version of the materials extant, and it is for this purpose that the following excerpts from our Catalogue Raisonné[1] are brought to the light of day. In presenting this material, no attempt has been made to organize the Arabic titles of those tracts within the recognized framework of the Greek originals, but rather re-interpret the Arabic independently and literally without regard to the context of St. John's classification.

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[1] A. S. Tritton suspects that the whole "Qadari" discussion began in Syria toward the end of the 7th century; *Muslim Theology* (Royal Asiatic Society, London, 1947), 54 ff. On the subject of the Qadarīya Sect, see al-Ījī, *al-Mawāqif* (Būlāq, 1849-50), p. 620; Shahrastānī, *al-Milal wa 'l-Niḥal*, 2 vols. (Būlāq, 1846), I, 54; C. A. Nallino, *Sul none di Qadariti*, in *Rivista degli studi orientali*, VII, 461 ff. Cf. article "Ḳadarīya" in *Encyclopedia of Islam*, and *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*.

[2] *Op. cit.*, I, 378-379. Cf. L. Cheikho, *Catalogue des manuscrits des auteurs arabes chrétiens depuis l'Islam* (in Arabic [Beirut, 1924]), 217; *Al-Machriq*: *Revue catholique orientale bimensuelle* (Université de St. Joseph, Beirut, 1898 ff.), XXII (1924), 766-768; XXIX (1931), 481-485, under "Lammens."

[3] He died in 379 A. H./989-90 A. D. He translated a number of works from the Greek Fathers such as John Chrysostom and notably John of Damascus whose *Kephalaia* and *De fide orthodoxa* he rendered under the title *Kitāb al-Iḍāḥ al-ṣarīḥ fī 'l-madhhab al-ṣaḥīḥ*. Graf, *op. cit.*, 41-45.

[4] His full name is Abū 'l-Fatḥ ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Faḍl al-Muṭrān al-Anṭākī, He was an Arabic speaking Melkite Archbishop of Antioch with a profound knowledge of Greek from which he made his prolific translations of numerous works of the Fathers including John Chrysostom, Basil the Great, Gregory of Nyssa, Maximus the Confessor, Andrew of Crete, John of Damascus and Isaac the Syrian. His dates are known through his translation of St. Basil's Hexaemeron or commentary on the narrative of the creation in six days from Genesis which he completed in the year 6560 from Adam, or the equivalent of 1052 A. D. Accor-

SINAI ARABIC NO. 317

Description

Large quarto codex in excellent condition. Dimensions 24.5 × 16.5 cm. Writing dimensions 18.5 × 9.5 cm.

Material: paper, 460 folios, averaging 17 lines to the page.

Binding: wooden boards dressed in brown leather and studded in corners.

Handwriting: Old Naskh. Date: 1223 A.D.

Dedication to St. Catherine's Monastery by Apa Germanus the Bishop (f° 1a) with reading note by Joachim Archbishop of Bethlehem signed in Greek (f° 460a).

Complete codex comprising Arabic translation of Greek philosophical works of John of Damascus by Archbishop ʿAbd Allāh b.

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dingly the productive part of his life must have been around the middle of the eleventh century. Graf, *op. cit.*, II, 52-64.

[1] As will be seen the selection here treated comprises nos. 317, 318, 319, and 599. No. 579 is cited in the conclusion though it does not bear the Damascene's name. It should, however, be noted that some excerpts of St. John's work in Arabic appear in other Sinai codices including nos. 352 (Mimars and Lives of Saints), 448 (Mimars and Lives of Saints), 451 (Theology, Prayers etc.), 455 (Mimars, Lives of Saints and Old Testament), 482 (Mimars and Lives of Saints), and 535 (Hagiographica et Varia). Cf. Atiya, *Arabic MSS of Mt. Sinai*, 9, 14, 15, 16, 17, 21, 23, 24. All these manuscripts may be safely dated in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

al-Faḍl b. ʿAbd Allāh (f^{os} 449a-450a). Copy executed by a monastic scribe named Bīmīn بيمين السيقي at the Church of Our Lady بكنيسة السيدة بالمجيبة in Damascus during the episcopate of its Metropolitan Archbishop Apa Yūḥanna and the Patriarchate of Apa Simʿān.

Copy accomplished on 21 Ḥazīrān (July) in the year 6731 from Adam or the last decade العشرة الأخيرة of the Muslim month of Jumādā I of the year 620 after the Hijra, falling in the year 1223 A.D. (f° 437a).

Contents

The manuscript contains five different texts of which the first, second and fifth are rendered into Arabic from the works of St. John Damascene.

1) Treatise on Logic (f^{os} 10a-93b) preceded by a detailed index of chapters (f^{os} 1b-8a), and addressed to his companion in the Lord Cosmas Bishop of Maīuma (i.e. Ghazza). Title: رسالة لأبينا القديس يوحنا الدمشقي القسيس / إلى قزما أسقف مدينة مايوما / رفيقه المكرّم عند الله (f° 10a).
2) One Hundred Theological Discourses on the Orthodox Faith, including his discussion of Nestorianism, Iconoclasm and the Jacobite sect as well as the Epistle to Cosmas etc. (f^{os} 93b-437a). Treaties has no definite title, but it begins thus: بسم الآب الخ مقالة أولى لأبينا البار المعظم يوحنا الدمشقي القسيس (f° 93b).
3) A Life of St. John Damascene (438b-448b) entitled:
وصف سيرة أبينا النبيل فى الأبرار والمشهور / فى القديسين الأخيار أبا يوحنا القسيس الدمشقي / المكنى بمجرى الذهب مما سهل جمعه من شواهد أخباره (f° 438b).
4) Abridged Patristica on the Faith for Orthodox Believers (449a-450a), collected from the works of the Holy Fathers by ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Faḍl b. ʿAbd Allāh the Archbishop under the following title: أمانة مختصرة جدا تصلح لمن لا دربة له بالعلم من الأرثذ كسيين (f° 449a).
5) Constitution of the Orthodox Faith by St. John Damascene (450a-459b) and communicated by "Hellia Bishop of Ayabrodhon" to Peter Metropolitan of Damascus, entitled: دستور فى الأمانة المستقيمة صنفه أبونا البار يوحنا الدمشقي دفعه هليا أسقف أيابروذون القديس إلى بطرس مطران دمشق (f° 449a).

Incipit (f° 1b)

بسم الآب والابن والروح القدس / شرح ما فى هذا الكتاب / المكنى بالدمشقي وفهرسته / المنسوب إلى المنطق / العلمى / الباب الأول من المنطق فى الوجود / فى الجوهر والعرض .

Explicit (459b)

الذي لامبدآ له وروحي (sic) الكلي القدس / والمحيى الآن وألى آباد الدهور التي لا تتناهى آمين .

Colophon (459b)

نجزت الأمانة بعون الله تعالى وكتب الخاطي / المسكين بيمين السيقي وهو ما ترجمه عبدالله ابن الفضل بن عبدالله المطران من اللغة اليونااينة / إلى اللغة العربية . . . . وكتب بكنيسة دمشق القاثوليكي بالمجيبة .

Sinai Arabic No. 318

Description

Complete codex with edges gnawed by vermin.

Material: paper, 412 folios, averaging 12 lines to the page.

Binding: wooden boards with brown leather.

Dimensions: 15.5 × 13 cm. Writing 12.5 × 8.5 cm.

Handwriting: regular old Naskh with rubrications.

Date: Thursday, end of the month of Ṣafar, 623 H., coinciding with the year 1226 A.D.

Scribe ʻAfia son of Isḥāq (عافية بن اسحق).

Dedication to monastery by Germanus the Bishop (1a) and reading note (414b) by Nicodemus the monk, son of Yūḥanna b. Yūḥanna, with date in epact gnawed by mice.

Probably true copy of parts of *Sinai Arabic No.* 317.

Contents

1) Logic by St. John Damascene (1a-100b).

2) St. John's Hundred Discourses (100a-412a).

Incipit (1a)

بسم الآب والابن والروح القدس / المسيح اله قوتي ومعيني . رسالة يوحنا القديس / الدمشقي القسيس إلى قزما أسقف مدينة ما(يوما) رفيقه المكرم .

Explicit (411b-412a)

والذين عملوا الصالحات يشرقون كإشراق الشمس مع الملايكة فى حياة دهرية بايسوع المسيح ربنا ناظرين إليه وهو ناظر إليهم مقتطعين منه السرور القادم أن يكون منتهياً لأن له / المجد والعزّ مع الأب والابن الروح القدس الآن ودايماً وإلى آباد الدهور كلها . آمين آمين آمين .

Colophon (412a)

برسم خزانة المول (sic) الأجل الأعز المحترم / رشيد الدين والملوك والسلاطين اسحق بن ابراهيم .

Sinai Arabic No. 319

Description

Imperfect codex. Binding together with beginning and end folios lost.

Material: paper, 359 folios, dimensions 22.5×15.5 cm. and writing 15.5×11 cm. averaging 15 lines to the page.

Handwriting: regular old Naskh with rubrications.

Undated manuscript, but approximately 13th Century.

Contents

Same as previous nos. 317 and 318. St. John Damascene's works reversed in order as follows:

1) Hundred Theological Treatises (1a-301b), beginning toward the end of the 21st discourse and ending with six additional discourses which include those against the Iconoclasts, the Nestorians and an epistle addressed to Dionysius قاضى مجلس العلما .

2) St. John's Logic (301a-395b), ending somewhere after the beginning of Chapter 47.

Incipit (1a)

السنبلة شرق عطارد ، الميزان شرق زحل ، / الجدى شرق المريخ ، الحوت شرق الزهرة ، / وأشكال القمر من عادته فى الدرجة التي توجد الشمس فيها .

Explicit (359b)

إذ كان قد ينعكس لأنه ما يدلّ على شيءٍ أكثر من أن الرجل / يحوي امراة او المراة لها رجل لان ليس الواحد . . .

Sinai Arabic No. 599

Description

Incomplete codex. Original binding with wooden boards and slightly embossed brown leather. Right board with beginning folios lost. Left board loose and end folios also lost. Last folios damped and stained.

Material: paper, 360 folios. Dimensions 17.5 × 13 cm. and writing 12 × 9 cm. with average 14 lines to the page.

Handwriting: regular old Naskh with rubrications.

Undated manuscript, but approximately 13th century.

Contents

Several philosophical and theological discourses and epistles by St. John Damascene and St. Dionysius to Demophilus. The last two numbers constitute the bulk of the manuscript.

1) St. John Damascene against the Nestorians (9b-54b).

2) St. Dionysius' (قاضى مجلس العلما) Epistle to his servant Demophilus on ecclesiastical observance (54b-66a).
3) St. John Damascene's Epistle to Cosmas Bishop of Maïuma (66a-68a).
4) The Fifty-three Chapters from the Philosophy of John Damascene (68a-134a).
5) The Hundred Discourses on the Orthodox Faith by John Damascene (134a-360b) with incomplete ending in the 98th discourse.

Incipit (1a)

ولا متنقلاً الى مجد ما كان له لكنّه تجلّى مظهراً . . .

Explicit (360b)

ولما عبرّهم يشوع بن نون الأردن ختنوا وحدثت للختانة شريعة ثانية لان فى زمان . . .

Conclusion

All the aforementioned manuscripts are identified as Arabic versions of some of the most significant works written by John of Damascus in Greek. They can be dated without hesitation in the thirteenth century. This is the century of the advent of the marauding Mongol hordes in the Middle East which culminated in the downfall of Baghdad in 1258. The Mongols left behind them a trail of terror and the population, both Muslim and Christian alike, took to flight from the face of a merciless enemy to the nearest inaccessible mountain tops or wilderness. We must assume, therefore, that many Arabic-speaking Christians sought safety within the Sinaitic fold and espoused monasticism at St. Catherine's Monastery. This fact alone explains the sudden jolt in the number of Arabic manuscripts in the Sinai collection during that period. The Damascene material belongs to that age. In addition to our selection, we may also find numerous other manuscripts which comprise excerpts from St. John's work; but since these are mainly homiletic in character, it has been our feeling that their real importance lies elsewhere and we have decided to limit this essay to those codices with the most pertinent contents.

Nevertheless, it may be fitting in this conclusion to allude to another manuscript of a philosophical character which does not explicitly bear St. John's name, but may well have been the product of his interest in logic and his great popularity in Sinai. The Damascene is pre-eminently known to the Arabs as a logician, and the manuscript in question is a treatise on logic. This is *Sinai Codex* 579, of which the following is a brief account.

Description

Incomplete codex with left cover and end folios lost. Right cover in paper cardboard padding made of ancient Kufic folios from other codices. Material: paper, 179 folios, dimensions 23.5 × 16.5 cm. and writing 18.5 × 12.5 cm., averaging 17 lines to the page. Handwriting: regular old Naskh, approximately twelfth century, possibly thirteenth. Folios 161-165 torn in half, and folios 166-169 torn almost completely.

Incipit (1b):

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم / المقالة الأولى من الفن الرابع / من الجمله الاولى وهو المنطق / الفصل
الأول فى صورة القياس المطلق .

Explicit (179b):

بعد أن يجعل بدل المتحرك والمنفصل لا / . . . ساكناً ضروب ذلك والمنفصلة متتالية دايماً .

The critical study and identification of this interesting codex is a matter for further special enquiry. But it must be noted that the library of the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai is probably the richest repository of the Arabic versions of St. John Damascene's works. In point of dating, they are all medieval. Of course Codex 317, which was accomplished in the year 1223 A.D., is beyond doubt the completest and most important, perhaps also the oldest source to be utilized by other Sinaitic later copyists. It is a notable fact that all these manuscripts have remained unheeded for centuries, and it is our privilege in the present survey to draw the attention of orientalists, students of philosophy and theologians to their existence and availability. All were microfilmed by the Mount Sinai Expedition of 1950 for the Library of Congress[1] where the negatives are deposited in its Photoduplication Service. All or any can be reproduced and acquired at a nominal cost for purposes of collation and publication without the need of undertaking the exhorbitant and hardy journey to the wilderness of Sinai.

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[1] This was a joint expedition with the University of Alexandria of which the writer was the academic and official representative and the editor of the Arabic collection and the firmans.

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A NINETEENTH-CENTURY MUSLIM REFORM MOVEMENT IN INDIA

BY

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Opinions during the last one hundred and thirty years have sharply been divided on the nature of the nineteenth century Muslim reform movement in India, popularly but erroneously supposed to be an offshoot of the Arabian Wahhabis, [1] and the role it had played in the subsequent history of the subcontinent. Contemporary travellers in the Yusufzai country referred to Sayyid Aḥmad and his wars against the Sikhs, [2] but it was essentially in the context of the history of the independent tribes of Swat and Bunair that the early reformist activities were examined. Both Murray [3] and Cunningham [4] briefly described the events leading to the occupation of Peshawar by the Sayyid, and his ultimate defeat and death at Balākōt, but the greater significance of his teachings was largely lost on them. Ranjit Singh (d. 1839), it seems, was conscious of the political and military potentialities of the movement, were it allowed to gather momentum, and his actions against it were accordingly prompt and resolute. Some of his ablest generals were sent against the Sayyid and the news of the Sikh victory at Saidu was, under his command, celebrated throughout the kingdom with festivity and illumination. [5] Nonetheless the Sikh leader failed to appreciate the motive why the Khalifa Sahib [6] should indulge in activities unbecoming of a holy man of his eminence. [7]

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[1] On this question, see my article, "The Politics of Sayyid Ahmad Barelwi," *Islamic Culture*, XXXI, 156-164.

[2] C. Masson, *Narrative of various journeys in Balochistan, Afghanistan and the Punjab* (London, 1842); A. Burnes, *Travels into Bokhara*, etc. (London, 1834); Mohan Lal, *Travels in the Punjab, Afghanistan*, etc. (London, 1846); Shahamat Ali, *The Sikhs and the Afghans* (London, 1847).

[3] *Origin of the Sikh Power in the Punjab* etc., ed. H. T. Prinsep (Calcutta, 1834).

[4] *A History of the Sikhs* etc. (London, 1849).

[5] See Dīwān Amar Nath, *Ẓafar Nāma-i Ranjit Singh*, ed. S. R. Kohli (Lahore, 1928), 181; Lala Sohan Lal, *ʿUmdat al-tawārīkh*, II (Lahore, 1885), 340-341.

[6] This is how the Sikhs referred to the Sayyid. See Amar Nath, *op.cit*, 180-181; Sohan Lal, *op.cit.*, II, 350.

[7] Masson, *op. cit.*, I, 144, observes: "Ranjit Singh had a very great dread of him; and I have heard it remarked that he would readily give a large sum if he would take himself off; and it is also asserted that the Maha Raja cannot exactly penetrate the mystery with which the holy Saiyad enshrouds himself."

After the British annexation of the Punjab in 1849, Lord Dalhousie was evidently concerned with the military aspect of the movement, if and to what extent it constituted a threat to the British possessions in India. He was satisfied that it did not, and in a Minute, dated 11 November, 1852, on the Report of the Board of Administration on "the treasonable correspondence . . . between the fanatics at Sitana and the Wahabees at Patna and elsewhere," he firmly rejected the proposal for an attack on the Reformist positions in the Frontier. [1] The Sepoy Rising of 1857 and the role the Muslims played in it generally, [2] brought about a sharp reorientation in the official attitude to the movement. The official historian of the British military expeditions against the frontier tribes was of the opinion that "the Hindustani fanatics have been a constant source of trouble and a thorn in the side of the British Government since the annexation of the Punjab." [3] The State trials of the eighteen-sixties [4] and renewed Reformist activities beyond the Indus hardened this attitude and compelled a fuller look at the movement and its possibilities. Hunter complained: "The disorders which we had connived at, or at least viewed with indifference, upon the Sikh frontier, now descended as a bitter inheritance to ourselves." [5] He was convinced that a network of conspiracy had spread itself "over our provinces," and that the bleak mountains which rise beyond the Punjab were "united by an unbroken chain of treason-depots with the tropical swamps through which the Ganges merges into the sea." [6] The murder, at this time, of Mr. Justice Norman further exacerbated the feelings of the rulers and the question was openly asked: "Are the Indian Muslims bound by their religion to rebel against the Queen?" [7] Letters alleging Muslim disloyalty to English rule in India were published in the London Times, and the leading newspapers of Bengal filled their columns with discussions regarding the duty of the Muslims to wage war against a non-Muslim ruler. [1] Echoing the sentiments of the majority community, the Hindoo Patriot of Calcutta, in its issue of 2 August, 1870, openly questioned the wisdom of the government policy toward the Muslims. It declared:

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[1] See *Parliamentary Papers*, House of Commons XLIV (1872), paper 161.

[2] For a resumé of the Muslim role in the Rising, see R. C. Majumdar, *The Sepoy Mutiny and the Revolt of* 1857 (Calcutta, 1957), 227-229.

[3] A. H. Mason in the *Journal of the United Service Association* XIX (London), 182.

[4] At Ambala, Patna, Malda, Rajmahal and Patna respectively.

[5] W. W. Hunter, *The Indian Musalmans*, Reprint (Calcutta, 1945), 13.

[6] *Ibid.*, 1.

[7] See W. Nassau Lees, *Indian Musulmans* etc., India Office Tract 633. Apparently to answer this question Hunter wrote his book *The Indian Musalmans: Are they bound in conscience to rebel against the queen?*.

> The Wahhabis are a far more dangerous sect as one copresent with Muhammadanism, while the Ferazis are a local one. The movement, sprung at the fountain-head of Islam in Arabia, has spread throughout the Muhammadan world. Its missionaries are as numerous and as zealous as those of Christianity, its teachings as inimical to the authority of infidel States as that of the Jesuits, and with Jesuitical reserve might be quite as dangerous. The Wahhabis though deemed heterodox, are respected for their austerity by the orthodox who in presence of Wahhabi recklessness seem to be ashamed of their faint-heartedness in keeping in abeyance some of the distinctive tenets of their faith.

The Muslim leaders were at pains to impress their loyalty upon the Government, [2] but they did it in two different ways. ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, the founder of the Mahomedan Literary Society of Calcutta, chose to denigrate the character of the Reformists, and questioned the bona fides of their motives. "As for the wretched Wahabees," he declared in a speech to the Society, [3] "they may indeed be said to have no regard for their own religion and conscience; but, being urged by selfish motives, they have spread their nets of violence and wickedness; and, under the cloak of religion, hope to gain worldly advantages. What concern can such men have with Islam or Infidelity?" But, unlike the loyal Muslim Civil Servant [4] who sought to play down the significance of the movement and contemptuously dismissed its leader as an imposter, ʿAbd al-Laṭīf was aware of its influence among the Muslim masses. Consequently, he adopted a more subtle and effective weapon to combat the "wretched Wahabees." On his invitation, Karāmat ʿAlī (d. 1873), a former disciple of the Sayyid, addressed the Literary Society on 23 November, 1870 and unequivocally declared himself against jihad, calling British occupied India a *dār al-Islām.* [1] *Fatwās* to this effect were received from other Indian scholars and the muftis of the holy city. [2] Later events would prove that the efforts of the Society, and specially of Karāmat ʿAlī, succeeded to a great extent in alienating the sympathy of the Muslim public from the Reformists and isolating them, at least, in Bengal, as a terrible sect, dreaded even by their former associates.

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[1] *Ibid.*, see also *Calcutta Review*, L, 73; Hunter, *op. cit.*, 1-2.

[2] This drew out from W. W. Hunter (*op. cit.*, 3) the mocking remark: "...the Muhammadan masses eagerly drinking in the poisoned teachings of the Apostles of Insurrection, and a small minority anxiously seeking to get rid of the duty to rebel by ingenious interpretations of their Sacred Law."

[3] *Abstract Proceedings of the Mahomedan Literary Society of Calcutta at a meeting held... on Wednesday, the 23rd November*, 1870 (Calcutta, 1871), 17.

[4] S. M. Latif in the *History of the Punjab* (Calcutta, 1891), 448. An extra-Judicial Assistant Commissioner, his motto in life was (see p. XVI), "Fear God, love mankind and honour the Empress."

Sayyid Aḥmad Khān, the father of the Aligarh movement, was too great an admirer of both Sayyid Aḥmad and Shah Muḥammad Ismāʾīl to call them "impostors." He was, moreover, in deep sympathy with their basic religious and social teachings. [3] A noble and courageous man, he deliberately set upon the difficult task of freeing the honor of the Reformist leaders and, at the same time, to bring about a rapprochement between the Christian rulers and their Muslim subjects. "A Wahabi, as far as Mahomedan religion is concerned," he wrote, "means nothing more than one who has the most firm and implicit belief in the unity of God, and who has no faith in the supernatural powers of saints, nor in the superstitions which derive no support from true Mahomedanism, but have, somehow or other, obtained credence among different sects. In point of fact a Wahabi is the faithful observer of the injunctions of the Koran and the precepts of the Prophet, and his religious opinions are anything but irrational. I cannot help believing that patient inquiry would show that more than half of the Mahomedan population of India belong to that sect, and yet they are as loyal subjects as it is possible for a foreigner to be." [4] In his *Review on Dr. Hunter's Indian Musalmans*, Sayyid Aḥmad Khān sought laboriously to establish that the early leaders of the movement were on friendly terms with the East India Company which gave them tacit encouragement and moral support in their fight against the Sikhs. "I think I have proved," he claimed, "that the Indian Wahabi jihad—represented by our author to have been one against the British—was intended solely for the conquest of the

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[1] See *Abstract Proceedings of the meeting* referred to above.

[2] *Ibid.*; see also Hunter, *op. cit.*, Appendices, and Sayyid Aḥmad Khān, *Review on Dr. Hunter's Indian Musulmans* (Benares, 1872), Appendices I and II.

[3] In his *Āthār al-ṣanādīd* he wrote the biographies of both the Sayyid and the Shah. He often called himself a "thrice bitter Wahhābī" (see A. H. Albiruni, *Makers of Pakistan and Modern Muslim India* [Lahore, 1950], 53; S. M. Ikram, *Mauj Kauthar* [Lahore, 1940], 47) and mentioned in his *Review on Dr. Hunter* etc., *op. cit.*, 14. "Moulavi Ismail was the man whose preaching worked marvels on the feelings of Mahomedans."

[4] Letter to the Times (London, November 1871), as reproduced in *Review on Dr. Hunter etc., op. cit.*, pp. xxiii-xxiv.

Sikhs, and that, even although the band of mutineers at Mulka and Sittana may have given trouble to Government after 1857, the frontier colony, composed as it was, of Hindus as well as Mohamedans, was scarcely one which could be designated as a *jihādī* community.[1]"

Muḥammad Ja'far Thānisarī (d. 1905), a man of a different mettle, but far more attached to the movement and its leaders, tried to show in a devious way, what Sayyid Aḥmad Khān partially succeeded in establishing in a fair and open argumentation, that the Reformists had no quarrel with the English and that their jihad was exclusively directed against the Sikh.[2] In so doing, he often quoted, from the leaders, remarks completely out of their contexts, thus suggesting meanings totally uncalled for, and, what is worse, substituted the word "Sikh" for "English" whenever any such carefully selected quotations appeared to be even remotely critical of the British rule.[3] The success of British arms and diplomacy in the frontier,[4] the Ambala Campaign (1863) and its consequences on the Reformists, and a discernible shift in the Government policy in relation to the Muslims made all such exercises of loyalty no longer necessary. Above all, the movement itself became divided and weak.

In the wake of the rise of nationalistic movements in the subcontinent, Muslim scholars in the thirties and forties of the present century once again turned their attention to the "first Islamic movement in Hindustan."[5] Most of the scholars, however, failed to rise above sectarian prejudices and showed an unseemly eagerness to claim, for their respective factions, exclusive legacy of the "freedom fighters."[6] Since Independence, scholars both in Pakistan and in India are busy rewriting the history of the "Freedom Movement,"[7] and it is only natural that the "Wahhabi rebels" will receive their share of attention. A new significance is now being attached to the movement insofar as it is being regarded as "the precursor of the Aligarh movement, the *Khilāfat* movement, the Pan-Islamic movement, and the Pakistan movement which rocked Indian Moslems." [1] "The Sepoy Mutiny," it is being argued, "could not have gathered volume and strength, if the soil was not fertilised by the Indian Wahabis for anti-British sentiments and activities." [2] What was then the true character of the movement, which, long before the Rising of 1857, remarkably succeeded in rousing to enthusiastic action a fairly large section of the Muslims, irrespective of any ethnic groupings or geographical locations, all over the country, ready to sacrifice everything, including their lives, to achieve an ideal? What was the secret of the Sayyid's power which, in the words of Masson, "contrived to induce confidence in his mission [even] after the reverses he had met with?" And, finally, how to explain his mysterious mastery, however short-lived, over the aggressively individualistic Yusufzais [3] who defied, with equal disdain, the mighty arms of the Moguls and their British successors? It is not always easy to find, from the mass of interested literature, satisfactory answers to the above questions.

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[1] *Review on Dr. Hunter* etc., *op. cit.*, 21.

[2] *Sawānih-i Aḥmadī*, Sufi Printing and Publishing Co. Ltd., (Lahore, n.d.), 70-71.

[3] Compare the Sayyid's letters as in the British Museum MS Or. 6635 f^{os} 27 and 30 with printed versions of these at pp. 175 and 189-190 of *Ṣawāniḥ-i Aḥmadī*.

[4] For a review of the British policy in the frontier, see the Punjab Government publication, *Report showing the relations of the British Government with tribes in the North-West Frontier of the Punjab from annexation in 1849 to August 1864* (Lahore, 1865). For later policy, see C.C. Davies, *The Problem of the North-West Frontier* (Cambridge, 1932).

[5] This is the title of a book first published in 1946, in which the author, Mas'ūd 'Ālam Nadvī, briefly described the rise and fall of the movement.

[6] For an example of these attempts, see 'Ubaid Allāh Sindhī, *Shāh Walī Allāh aur unkī siyāsī taḥrīk* (Lahore, 1945), 86-142.

[7] The Pakistan Historical Society has already published three volumes of *A History of the Freedom Movement*, and the first volume of the *History of the Freedom*

Almost immediately after the incident of Balākōt, effective steps were taken, mainly through the efforts of the ruling prince of Tonk, Nauwāb Wazīr al-Daula, to prepare a detailed biography of the Sayyid and a connected account of his activities among the Pathans. As a result of this initiative, some of the disciples and companions-at-arms of the Sayyid recorded the early history of the movement in which they themselves were active participants. [4] Understandably suffering from the defects generally associated with biographies of this nature, these still unpublished works present an uninhibited and faithful account of the movement and its early leaders, and are, in the best of the Reformist traditions, refreshingly free from any

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Movement in India was published in 1961 under the auspices of the Publications Division of the Ministry of Information, Government of India.

[1] S. Sen, *The Birth of Pakistan* (Calcutta, 1955), 32. Similar views were expressed by A. H. Mohiyuddin in a paper entitled, "Is Pakistan a consequence of Wahabism?" read at the 1954 session of the Pakistan History Conference.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] For an account of the topography, history, government and customs of the tribe, see H. W. Bellew, *A General Report on the Yusufzais* (Lahore, 1864).

[4] The more important of these works are *Tārīkh-i Aḥmadīya* (Punjab University MS) by Sayyid Jaʿfar ʿAlī Nadwī and *Makhzan-i Aḥmadī* (British Museum MS Or. 6650) by Sayyid Muḥammad ʿAlī.

partisan spirit. Together with the writings of the leaders themselves, they should therefore constitute the primary source for any objective study of the reforms.

It is, perhaps, no exaggeration to say that the remarkable combination of three distinct and diverse types of character into one united leadership, with the consequential working of checks and balances, lay at the root of the early success of the movement. By far the most fiery and brilliant exponent of the reform was Shah Muḥammad Ismāʿīl (1193/1779-1246/1831), of whom an impartial observer wrote in 1853: "During the present century, India has not produced another man similarly enterprising and able." [1] A nephew of Shah ʿAbd al-ʾAzīz (d. 1824) and a product of his madrasa, even before he had any chance of meeting the Sayyid, Shah Muḥammad Ismāʿīl, by his forceful and often aggressive attack on the superstitious practices among fellow Muslims, set in motion at Delhi a great religious and social upheaval, as a result of which his public lectures were, at the intervention of the English Resident at Delhi, suspended for forty consecutive days; he was summoned to appear before the Emperor to explain his conduct; attempts were made on his life; and a section of the Muslims of Delhi called him a *kāfir*. [2] In ways more than one, this gifted orator and skillful writer [3] with almost all the principal tracts of the Reformists to his credit was chiefly responsible for the explanation and propagation of the reform. Yet, with all his intellectual excellences, he was not the proper person to command the confidence of both the non-conformist *Ahl-i ḥadīth* and the overwhelming Hanafi masses of Muslim India. While, with allegedly irreligious pronouncements, he turned a good many Muslims into his sworn enemies, who allegedly celebrated the news of his death by distributing sweets in the streets of Delhi, [4] his mystic and visionary leader and pir, Sayyid Aḥmad (1201/1786-1246/1831), [5] with no great claim to scholarship, [6] won, if not their complete acceptance, the profound respect and sympathy of the Indian Muslims. [1] A member of a celebrated mystic and ghazi family of Northern India and a disciple of Shah ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and the latter's brother, Shah ʿAbd al-Qādir, the first translator of the Koran into Urdu, Sayyid Aḥmad, in spite of his remarkable personality and great piety, might well have ended his life by adding, in the ordinary way, yet another name to the already long list of distinguished pirs in the family, had he not the good fortune to enroll, early in life, two scholars of the eminence of Shah Muḥammad Ismāʿīl and Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ḥaiy (d. 1243/1828). [2] In the same way, the happy and harmonious integration of the restless scholasticism of the Shah, and the visionary mysticism of the Sayyid, might not have been a reality but for the moderating influence exercised on both by Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ḥaiy, a disciple and son-in-law of Shah ʿAbd al-ʿAziz. So long as these leaders lived, the Reformists displayed a remarkable cohesion and unity of purpose. Eschewing all sectarian loyalties, they strove unitedly, and with moderation and care, to reform and revitalize the contemporary Indian Muslim society. The ideals they set before them were mainly three: a) the renovation of tauhid and sunna and, therefore, elimination of *shirk* and *bidʿa*; b) fostering a true love for God and a corresponding avoidance of too much involvement in worldly affairs; and c) the establishment of an Islamic state.

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[1] *JRAS* (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*), XIII, 315.

[2] See Ghulām Rasūl, *Tuḥfa rasūlīya wa-hadīya rasūlīya* (Lahore, 1848), 2; Mirza Ḥairat *Ḥayāt ṭaiyiba* (Delhi, 1312 H.), 42-80; Sayyid Abū 'l-Ḥasan ʿAli Nadvī *Sīrat Saiyid Aḥmad Shahīd* (Lucknow, 1939), 409.

[3] For a short biography of the Shah, see *Athār al-Ṣanādīd*, IV, 56-58; *Sawāniḥ-i Aḥmadī*, 143-147. Mirza Ḥairat's *Ḥayāt Ṭaiyiba* is a detailed but often inaccurate account of the life and time of Shah Muḥammad Ismāʿīl.

[4] *Ḥayāt Ṭaiyiba*, 75-76; *Sawāniḥ-i Aḥmadī*, 146.

[5] Sayyid Aḥmad Khān writes his biography in the section on *mashāʾikh-i ṭarīqa* of Delhi (see *Athār al-ṣanādīd*, IV, 26-28).

[6] The disciples took pride in calling the Sayyid an *ummī* (see *Ṣawaniḥ-i Aḥmadī*, 19; ʾAlī Nadvī, *op. cit.*, 8).

In a country "predominated by an allegorical and idolatrous religion, addressing itself to the senses and the imagination, rather than to the understanding and the heart," [3] the Reformist interpretation of tauhid and sunna must have appeared unfamiliar to the Muslim masses who, in living side by side with their Hindu neighbors, borrowed from them, through the long years of action and reaction of two diverse faiths and cultures, much that was at variance with the strict monotheism of Islam. [4] Similarly, their insistence [5] that, not only in matters of faith but also in every walk of life, a Muslim should faithfully conform to the precepts of his religion was too harsh an injunction for one who, in the words of Iqbāl, "outhindoued the Hindu himself" in his rigid adherence to forms and practices peculiarly Indian. Yet the reforms were deliberately addressed to a Muslim like him. The Reformists rejected the popular assumption that a high proficiency was required to understand the Koran and the Traditions. To suggest that only the scholars could understand the sayings of the prophet, or that only a selected few could follow in his path, was to deny the whole purpose behind the prophetic mission. It was ridiculous to think, they argued, that a sick man was too weak to use medicine, and that only the strong and stout should consult a physician.[1]

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[1] *Tanbīh al-muḍillīn*, India Office MS, U.I. f^{os} 3-5.

[2] Compare *JRAS*, XIII, 311-312; *JASB* (*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*) I, 481; *Ṣawāhiḥ-i Aḥmadī*, 19. For a brief like sketch of M. ʿAbd al-Ḥaiy, see Ghulām Mihr, *Jamāʿat Mujāhidīn* (Lahore), 118-122.

[3] *JA* (*Journal Asiatique*), 1831, 87-88.

[4] Some of these beliefs and customs were discussed by G. de Tassy in his paper, referred to above, in the *Journal Asiatique*, an abridged translation of which appeared in the *Asiatic Journal*, new series, vols. VI and VII under the title, "On certain peculiarities in the Mahommedanism of India."

[5] Shah Muḥammad Ismāʿīl, *Taqwiyat al-īmān* (Lahore, Ahmadi Press, n.d.), 17, 31-41; Khurram ʿAlī, *Naṣīḥat al-muslimīn* (Calcutta, 1269 H.), 43-45.

Academic discussions on theological questions were, as far as they went, necessary, but the imperative need of the day was to reform and reorganize the Muslim society.[2] Even in the dark hours of political decline and disintegration, the Muslims did not fail to produce men of ability, intelligence and energy. What they lacked was a moral purpose in life.[3] To remedy this malaise was not an easy task, but the Reformists were not ready to be daunted by the magnitude of the problem. They ignored popular prejudices against the printing of religious books, and made full use of the press and platform to propagate their ideas as extensively as possible.[4] Short and incisive pamphlets in simple Hindustani and Persian were produced, and the leaders undertook long and arduous lecture tours to convey the message of the reforms directly to the people. Everywhere, they received a warm welcome, and the meetings they addressed were well attended. The saintly personality of the Sayyid made a deep impact on those who came in contact with him, and the forceful and passionate exhortations of Shah Muḥammad Ismāʿīl profoundly disturbed the conscience of a community, currently passing through a series of crises. Within a short period, a group of people, drawn from different sections of the society, were disciplined and trained, ready to perform a hijra to a comparatively unknown region and join a jihad the future of which was anything but certain.[5] For a people whose political leaders were so long unashamedly engaged in the sickening struggle for naked power-grabbing, the road to Balākōt was an uphill effort and could not have held any prospect of an immediate gain. That it was at all reached was no mean achievement indeed.

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[1] *Taqwiyat*, 1-2; *Naṣīḥat*, 49-50.

[2] See Shah Muḥammad Ismāʿīl's letter to Mīr Shāh ʿAlī, British Museum MS, Or. 6635, f^{os} 80-83.

[3] T.G.P. Spear, *Twilight of the Mughuls* (Cambridge, 1951), 11.

[4] *JA* (1838), 333-334.

[5] For the details of these tours, see Ghulām Rasūl Mihr, *Saiyid Aḥmad Shahīd* (Lahore, 1954), 113-223.

One of the main attractions of the reforms was the character of the leader himself, who by temperament and training was primarily a Sufi. In spite of his pronounced attachment to the *ẓāhir* of the sharʿ, the Sayyid's was not an unqualified rejection of the contemporary Sufi beliefs and practices. As in the case of the four schools of jurisprudence, so also in that of the four principal Sufi orders of the subcontinent his approach was one of compromise and conciliation. He claimed *nisba* to all the four orders and actually established a new discipline, the *ṭarīqa muḥammadīya*, the basic principle of which was to emphasize the superiority of the shariʿa over *maʿrifa*. [1]

At times embarrassingly impractical and impulsive, Aḥmad, a Sayyid and a Sufi, was yet ideally suited to the leadership of the Reformists—the credulous Afghans came to expect supernatural feats from him, [2] and the Hindustani disciples, soon developed into a compact brotherhood, led in the frontier an austere and dedicated life, believing all the time implicitly in the ultimate success of the "divinely inspired" leader. [3] The Sayyid was, at the same time, a man of action for whom jihad occupied a vitally important place in the organism of the shariʿa. "In the affairs of the shariʿa," he declared, "the compulsoriness of the jihad and its obligatoriness, till the day of judgement, on the faithful takes [as essential] a place [as] the falling of rains and running of rivers in the affairs of the world." [4]

So long as the appearance of the sovereignty of the Mogul Emperor was kept up and the Governor-General of the East India Company described himself as the servant of the Emperor, the people of the subcontinent did not generally realize that the Company was gradually becoming the real ruler of the land. The Reformist leaders, however, correctly interpreted the events that were soon to alter radically the character of the political map of India. They were undoubtedly influenced by the *fatwā*[1] of their teacher and preceptor, Shah ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz who had already declared British-occupied India a *dār al-ḥarb*. They too had concluded as early as 1233/1817 that India was no longer a land of Islam and publicly expressed their views in the *Sirāṭ-i mustaqīm*.[2] Later, in a communication to the ruler of Bokhara, Sayyid Aḥmad made the statement:

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[1] Sayyid Aḥmad, *Ṣirāt-i Mustaqīm* (Calcutta, 1823), 8-13, 16-20, 123-32.

[2] Masson, *op. cit.*, I, 132-134. For the Afghan attitude to saints and sayyids, see Bellew, *op. cit.*, 184-190; Muhammad Hayat Khan, *Hayāt-i Afghānī* (Lahore, 1867), 194-200.

[3] The Sayyid often claimed that he had received divine commission to wage the jihad, the successful termination of which he had been assured of:

اینجانب از پردهٔ غیب وممکن لا ریب باشارات اقامت جهاد وازالهٔ کفر وفساد مامور
است وبه بشارات فتح وظفر مبشر چنانچه بکرّات ومرّات بکلام روحانی والهام ربانی بلطف
رحمانی برین مطلع گردیده که هرگز شبهه ووسوسه شیطانی وشائبه هوای نفسانی بآن
مخلوط نشده .

See British Museum MS, Or. 6635, fos 20, 21, 66.

[4] *Ṣirāt-i mustaqīm*, 323.

> During the last couple of years, through the dispensation of the almighty, the condition of Hindustan has so degenerated as to raise to power the accursed Christians and the mischievous polytheists over the greater part of the sub-continent, right from the banks of the Indus to the shores of the Bay of Bengal—a distance of about six months' journey.[3]

Elaborating his theme further, the Sayyid asserted that India was not basically a *dār al-ḥarb*, "but the alien Franks and the Indian infidels have usurped power in the country. It is, therefore, the duty of the Muslims in general and the chiefs and governors in particular, to liberate the country from their domination."[4]

"The leaders of our time," the Sayyid wrote to the Kamālzai Chief Aḥmad Khān, "although they profess allegiance to Islam, have accepted the overlordship of the vile infidels, and because of this wicked deed of theirs the land of the Muslims has turned into a *dār al-ḥarb*."[5] He felt convinced that the only honorable way open to him now was to "leave the dear motherland" and "strive hard for its liberation."[6] In pursuance of this decision, he left his home on 7 Jumada II, 1241/17 January, 1826, and led a party of between five and six hundred followers on a long march through some of the wildest deserts of Rajputana, Sind and Baluchistan and the difficult terrains of the Sulaiman mountain range.[7] Following a circuitous route through Gwalior, Tonk, Ajmir, Hyderabad, Pirkot, Shikarpur,

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[1] Shah ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, *Fatāwī ʿAzīzīya*, I (Lucknow, 1322 H.), 16-17.
[2] See pp. 317-323.
[3] British Museum MS, Or. 6635, f° 27b.
[4] *Ibid.*, f° 30b.
[5] *Ibid.*, f^{os} 54-55.
[6] *Ibid.*, f° 65a.
[7] For the route, see Mihr, *op. cit.*, 282-329.

Khangarh, Dhadar, Quetta, Quandahar, Ghaznin, Kabul and Peshawar which enabled him to meet the people and the leaders of this region, [1] still free from the control of either the English or the Sikhs, he reached Charsadda in the district of Hashtnagar early in December, 1826. The arduous journey, covering a distance of about three thousand miles, lasted for nearly a year. All this time, the Sayyid tried hard to enlist the active support of the Muslim Chiefs of the area. He was visibly disappointed by the poor response he received from them. The rulers, while generally appreciating his sincerity, were not quite convinced of the success of the jihad. In the case of Afghanistan, traditionally a zealous upholder of orthodox Islam and "always the resource of all the disaffected in India," [2] the Sayyid had, in all probability, expected a good deal more than hollow words of sympathy from the warring sirdars of Kabul and Ghaznin and the vain promises of the already disgraced Maḥmūd Shāh of Herat. Unfortunately for the Reformist leader, the internal feuds between the Barakzais and the Sadozais were not yet resolved and, worse still, as a result of the rivalries amongst the Barakzai brothers themselves, the vast Abdali kingdom was fast disintegrating before the ever increasing encroachments of the Persians and the Sikhs. The popular response among the Afghans was, however, more encouraging. It was just the time to raise the spirits of the Yusufzais and other Pathans of the Peshawar border, who had recently experienced a humiliating defeat at the hands of Ranjit Singh at Nawshera. [3] In the Yusufzai country he was received with perfect cordiality and the enthusiastic population was eager to take up arms in the cause of religion as well as to free itself from the growing menace of Sikh aggressions. Pleased with his success among the tribesmen, the Sayyid now decided to launch the jihad at once. He was confident that victory would be his. [4]

The Sikhs were chosen as the first target of the holy war. An ultimatum was sent to Lahore, and the Sayyid got ready to make a night attack on the Sikh post at Akora, where General Budh Singh was stationed with an army of between seven to ten thousand. The assault was successfully carried out in the early hours of 21 December, 1826. In spite of their small number the *mujādihun* established themselves as good fighters against the Sikhs who now withdrew from Akora. The Pathans were favorably impressed. The influential chiefs of Hund, Zaida and Panjtar, all requested the Sayyid to make their respective towns the headquarters of the jihad. [1] The Barakzai sirdars of Peshawar, feeling the influence of the movement, offered their support, and "so innumerable were the hosts with the Sayyid that his triumph, if uncertain, did not appear improbable." [2]

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[1] Prominent among them were the rulers of Sind, the Governor of Baluchistan, the Barakzai brothers of Qandahar, Ghaznin, Kabul and Peshawar and the founder of the *Ḥurr* movement, Shah Ṣibghat Allāh. Letters were sent to the ruler of Bahawalpur, Maḥmūd Shāh of Herat, ex-king Shāh Zamān, Naṣr Allāh Khān of Bokhara, Sulaimān Shāh of Chitral, the Ghilzai Chiefs and almost all important Chiefs of the area.

[2] M. Elphinstone, *An Account of the Kingdom of Kabul* etc., I (London, 1839), 56. It is significant that Shah Walī Allāh himself expected much from the Rohillas (see K. A. Nizami, *Shāh Walī Allāh Dihlawī ke siyāsī maktūbāt* [Aligarh, 1950], 67).

[3] The battle was fought in 1823 between the Afghans under Sirdar Muḥammad ʿAẓīm Khān Barakzai and the Sikhs under Ranjit Singh.

[4] British Museum MS, Or. 6635, f^{os} 80-83.

The Sayyid knew no more of the character and peculiar habits of the Afghans than an average Indian of his time. Like many of them, he too had preconceived notions about their valor and intense religiosity. Possibly as a result of his association with the Pindari chief Amīr Khān, [3] he was so disposed towards them as to ignore the fact that the selfish, arrogant and querulous Pathans were never easily amenable to discipline and organization. The undisciplined and irresponsible behavior of those, therefore, who took part in the fightings at Akora and a little later at Hadrow came as a shock to the Sayyid and posed a serious organizational problem to the Reformists. For the successful prosecution of the jihad, it was felt necessary that a supreme authority should be created which would transcend all tribal organizations, at the same time commanding general acceptance of the Pathans, and which would coordinate the activities of the Hindustanis as well as the Pathans. In a characteristic way, the problem was solved by electing the Sayyid as the Imam. [4] The news of this election and the consequent *bai'a* of the people at the hand of the Sayyid was despatched to India; neighboring chiefs were informed; and in a general proclamation everyone was asked to assist in the jihad as best as he could.

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[1] Mihr, *op. cit.*, 346-363.

[2] Masson, *op. cit.*, II, 76.

[3] The Sayyid was a *sawār* in the cavalry of Amīr Khān, Nauwāb of Tonk, who later became his disciple. Both the Khan and his son, Wazīr al-Daula, were loyal supporters of the movement.

[4] The election took place at Hund on 12 Jumada II, 1242 H./11 January 1827 at a gathering attended by *sādāt kirām wa-ʿulamā aʿlām wa-quḍāt dhawī 'l-iḥtirām wa-mashāʾikh ʿālī maqām wa-khawānīn dhawī 'l-iḥtishām wa-jamāhir wa-ʿawāmm az ahl īmān wa-islām*. The *baiʿa* which followed the election was said to be for the limited purpose of jihad (see British Museum MS, Or. 6635, f^{os} 19, 20, 21, 28, 63, 65, 118) and was different from a second *baiʿa*, this time at Panjtar on 15 Shaʿban, 1244 H./ 20 February, 1829 which the Sayyid received. The second *baiʿa* (see British Museum MS, Or. 6635, f^{os} 75-78) gave the Sayyid sweeping powers and enabled him to take action against the recalcitrant chiefs. For the Reformist views on the

For a time it looked as though the scheme could succeed. The Sayyid continued to make good progress among the tribesmen. His defeat at Saidu (March, 1827) through the bad faith of the Peshawar sirdars [1] did not make any appreciable difference in the esteem in which he was commonly held. Parties of recruits bringing with them much needed money and equipment reached the frontier from India. The headquarters of the movement was now transferred to Panjtar, where the loyal support of the Khudū Khel Chief Fatḥ Khān further consolidated the strength of the movement. The Sayyid extensively toured the territories of Swat, Bunair and Chamla. The people were deeply impressed by the evident sincerity of the leader and enthusiastically took the *bai'a.* [2] Shah Muḥammad Ismā'īl achieved equal success among the Hazaras. [3] Sulaimān Shāh, the Wali of Chitral promised to join the jihad in person, [4] and favorable contacts were made with the Chiefs of Muzaffarabad, Agror and Amb. The time was propitious for a determined and united action, never to take place, against the enemy.

Not all the Afghan Chiefs could resist the old claim of *pakhtunwali'* [5] on them. The newfound unity of the Pathans was threatened even before it was consolidated. The traditional clannish rivalries and personal jealousies skillfully fanned by the Sikhs and their ally, Yār Muḥammad Khān, the Barakzai sirdar of Peshawar, and, ironically enough, assisted through some singularly insensitive activities of the Reformist leaders themselves, created a rift which was too wide to be repaired. In his effort to achieve the impossible, the Sayyid got

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imāma, see Shah Muḥammad Ismā'īl, *Manṣab-i imāmat* (Calcutta, n.d.) and *Ṣirāt-i mustaqīm*.

[1] Both Sikh and Reformist sources mention (see Sohan Lal, *op. cit.*, II, 341; Amar Nath, *op. cit.*, 180; British Museum MS, Or. 6635, f° 22; see also Masson, *op. cit.*, I, 134) that Yār Muḥammad's defection at a critical time brought defeat to the Sayyid who was also poisoned by the Khan.

[2] British Museum Ms, Or. 6635, f^os 20-22, 51, 60, 65, 69, 78, 81, 98-100.

[3] *Ibid.*, f^os 95-115.

[4] *Ibid.*, f° 124.

[5] For Afghan life and character, see Elphinstone, *op. cit.*, *Ḥayāt-i Afghānī*; D. Ibbetson, *Panjab Castes* (Lahore, 1916). *The Literature of the North-West Frontier of India* by R. North (Peshawar, 1945) is an admirable select bibliography of works on the Afghans.

himself involved in internal conflicts which, although they eventually placed the whole of Yusufzai and Peshawar under his control, did also rob him of the possibility of ever presenting a united front against the Sikhs. The Khan of Hund, at one time a close ally, paid dearly for his refractoriness. Yār Muḥammad's impetuous advance was cut short at Zaida with a terrible defeat which ultimately led to his death. Amb was occupied, and the veteran Tanawal Chief Painda Khān fled the country. Finally, Peshawar itself fell to the *mujāhidūn* in 1830.

The concentration of unprecedented powers in the hands of the Sayyid, and the gradual elimination of the powerful chiefs who dared disobey his directives, made others apprehensive of their future. The Sayyid, it is true, made it abundantly clear that he had no designs on the frontier. His real object was "to liberate Hindustan and not to make Khorasan a permanent home." [1] But it would hardly have escaped the notice of the Khans that, barring the few minor skirmishes in the Tanawal country, only a solitary battle took place after Saidu between the *mujāhidūn* and the Sikhs in which the initiative came from the former. [2] They also viewed with suspicion and alarm the increasing interferences of the sayyids and the theologians in what traditionally was their domain of influence, the governments of the tribes. Not only the khans but also a section of the Afghan ulama had genuine reservations about certain theological attitudes of the Reformists, while a second section was directly affected by the fiscal "innovations" which threatened their living. [3]

The political opposition of the khans crumbled down comparatively easily and with surprising rapidity, but the social resistance of the masses persisted obstinately. The peculiar pattern of the tribal society, fashioned basically on clannish descent, could offer to the Hindustanis no better status than that of the numerous hamsāyas who, through generations of domicile, failed to acquire membership of the clan *ulūses*. A harmonious integration of the two groups, the first prerequisite for a successful completion of the Reformist program, was never achieved. Unaccustomed as they were to lead a strictly moral and religious life, or to make compulsory payments to any organized government, the easy going and proud tribesmen could not reconcile themselves to the rod of the *muḥtasibs* or the "exactions" of the *'ushr* and zakat collectors. The Afghan code of honor obliged them to shelter and protect even the worst criminal who entered their threshold and sought asylum, and they felt compelled to take revenge (*badal*) for the slightest injury suffered. Zealous of their personal freedom and individual liberty, they were not prepared to give up such obviously un-Islamic practices as dividing the widows among the surviving brothers of the deceased, depriving women from any share in the property or of taking money on the betrothal of the daughters.

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[1] British Museum MS, Or. 6635, f^{os} 15, 21, 22, 23, 30, 52, 53, 64. In one of his letters (see f^{o} 21a), the Sayyid said: "After cleaning the region from the impurity of the infidels and the atrocity of the hypocrites, we intend to restore it to its rightful owners capable of running the administration efficiently, on condition that they shall always be thankful to the Lord for the favor, they shall keep up jihad in all conditions, they shall, in administering justice and settling disputes, strictly follow the shariʿa and they shall, without fail, abstain from tyranny and oppression."

[2] The battle of Phulra took place in April, 1830, the Sikh army under Ranjit Singh's French general, Ventura, had the previous year advanced almost up to Panjtar but was repulsed by the Sayyid.

[3] See *ibid.*, f^{os} 128-133; Mihr, *op.cit.*, II, 63-64, 78-79, 90-93, 280-282.

The leaders, it seems, were completely ignorant of the depth and intensity of these dissatisfactions. The Pathans' respect for the person of the Sayyid *Bādshāh*[1] was generally mistaken as their unqualified acceptance of the Reformist program in its entirety. The Sayyid accordingly made it a principle, as far as possible, not to interfere in the local administrations. Whenever possible, and often against strong opposition from some of his closest advisers, he would allow the old rulers or their next of kin to continue at their respective posts. The most he would agree to do was to associate a handful of faithful followers with these rulers to act as qadis, *muḥtasibs* and tax collectors. These half measures defeated their purpose and only encouraged the discredited chiefs, intent upon *badal*, and the exasperated commoners, impatient of the "new order," to rise in a general insurrection against the scattered Hindustanis who were caught unawares and were butchered mercilessly.[2] The Sayyid, with the main body of the Hindustanis, escaped the general massacre; but the tragic incident so utterly shook his confidence that he forever left Panjtar and the Yusufzai country, and made Raj Duwari his headquarters. Early in

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[1] The Pathans referred to him as such. See J. Darmesteter, *Chants Populaires des Afghans* (Paris, 1888-90), 5-6 and *Poshtu text*, 4. Even the Barakzai sirdars, in their letters, addressed him as Sayyid Bādshāh, see British Museum MS, Or. 6635, f^{os} 21, 32, 56, 124.

[2] W. H. Paget, *A Record of the Expeditions undertaken against the North-West Frontier tribes* (Calcutta, 1874), 82; Shahamat Ali, *op. cit.*, 273-274; Mihr, *op. cit.*, II, 290-313.

1831, two indecisive skirmishes took place between his followers and the Sikhs at Bhogarmang and Muzaffarabad, and the Sayyid was planning to lead a major attack against the Sikhs in Kashmir, [1] now with the help of the people of Hazara and the neighboring districts. But before he had time to settle down in the new country, he was surprised at Balākōt in early May, 1831, by an army under the Sikh general Sher Singh. "In spite of the disparity of numbers and the warnings of his friends, he determined to fight. Three times did his small band of Hindustanis beat back the Sikh regiments. At last, overpowered by numbers, they were defeated and destroyed." The Sayyid and the Shah were killed, and with them ended the first phase of the movement. [2]

The founding fathers were dead, but the movement survived. It soon became evident, however, that the successors failed to formulate an agreed policy, or elect a leader acceptable to all. The first split took place, in all probability, when apparently without the concurrence of Shah Muḥammad Isḥāq (d. 1846), Wilāyat ʿAlī (d. 1852) assumed the leadership of the movement, and with him Patna, rather than Delhi, became the center of the Reformist activities. So long as the leaders lived, Delhi remained the main organizational center of the movement in Hindustan and Shah Muḥammad Isḥāq was responsible for the supervision and coordination of its activities, collection and remittance of funds, recruitment and despatch of volunteers, and all such actions as might be deemed necessary to counter any anti-jihad or anti-Reformist propaganda in the mainland. [3] With the new leadership, however, there was an evident lack of cooperation between Delhi and the new center at Patna.

During the early years of the movement, taqlid was one of the few controversial issues [4] on which the Reformists differed from the general body of Indian Muslims. It then never assumed any such importance as it was to do soon after the death of the leaders, perhaps as a direct result of the departure of Shah Muḥammad Isḥāq for Mahka, where he now settled, thus taking away with him his personal influence which had so long prevented a complete showdown between the Reformists and others, and also between the two sections of the Reformists themselves.

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[1] Kashmir was conquered by the Sikhs in 1818-1819.

[2] Paget, *op. cit.*, 82; Sohan Lal, *op. cit.*, III, 32; Mihr, *op. cit.*, II, 394-414.

[3] British Museum MS, Or. 6635, f^{os} 83, 91-93, 94-96, 119-121, *Sawāniḥ-i Aḥmadī*, 108, 235; ʿUbaid Allāh Sindhī, *op. cit.*, 120-122.

[4] For the other points of difference, see *Hadīyat Rasūlīyat*, 2; *Āsās al-wahhābīyin*, India Office MS, U 45, f^{o} 41.

The first group, which faithfully followed the teachings of the early leaders, kept up the missionary and political activities of the movement, bore the brunt of public, as well as Government, pressure and persecution, and faced five successive State trials in different parts of the country, was led by Wilāyat ʿAlī. A section in this group, including the leader himself and the sādiqpūr family, showed definite personal attachments to the Sayyid and concentrated more on the political aspect of the movement. Guided by an unbounded veneration for the leader and an implicit faith in all his sayings, they even claimed that the leader did not actually die at Balākōt, but that he disappeared and would join his followers again at an opportune moment. [1] A second section in the group were evidently attracted by the teachings of Shah Muḥammad Ismāʿīl, following whose example they refused to attach themselves exclusively to any of the four *madhāhib*. Calling themselves variously as *Muḥammadīs* and *Ahl-i ḥadīth*, they tended to put greater emphasis on the theological aspect of the reforms, and soon developed into a party of "purists" intensely hated by their opponents. [2]

Taqlid and "legal" status of British-occupied India were the two major issues on which the "traditionalist" leaders, like Karāmat ʿAlī and others, differed from the first group. On the first of these questions they rejected the "liberal" attitude of the early leaders and maintained: "whoever rejects the taqlid of a definite person, denies that the Koran is the Book of God." [3] On the latter issue, Karāmat ʿAlī performed, as we have already seen, a complete volte-face and declared that British India was as good as *dār al-Islām*, and as such, there could not be any jihad against the English. Accordingly, the group dissociated itself completely from all activities aimed at furthering the cause of jihad in the frontier. Instead, it devoted its energy to the social and religious upliftment of fellow Muslims.

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[1] See *Sawāniḥ-i Aḥmadī*, 2-3, 12-15, 75; ʿAlī Nadvī, *op. cit.*, 200-203; Masʿūd ʿAlam Nadvī, *Hindustān ki pahlī Islāmī taḥrīk* (Rawalpindi, 1368 H.), 48-50; *Calcutta Review*, L, 95-103.

[2] Faḍl Ḥusain, *Al-ḥayāt baʿd al-mamāt* (Muzaffarpur [?], 1908 [?]), 319; Abū 'l-Wafāʾ Thanāʾ Allāh, *Ahl-i ḥadīth kā madhhab*, 7th printing (Amritsar, 1918), 76-77; S. Nadhīr Ḥusain Dihlawī, *Miʿyār al-ḥaqq* (Delhi, 1297 H.).

[3] Karāmat ʿAlī, *Nasīm al-ḥaramain al-sharīfain*, I (Jawnpur, n.d.), 93; see also pp. 6-12, 47-49, 89-106, and his *Mukāshafat-i raḥmat* (n.d.), 30-31; *Ḥujjat-i qāṭiʿat* (*Calcutta*, 1282 H.), 28-40.

It was largely an "Indian" India which the Sayyid had left in 1826. Within a few years of his death, however, the whole politico-socio-cultural complexion of the country underwent a radical transformation.[1] It was natural that the followers would respond to this changing pattern of the society in different ways. But "traditionalists" or "purists," pro- or anti-jihad, they continued the work of the leader, not infrequently applying a methodology altogether different from his. All later developments among the Muslims of the sub-continent were directly or indirectly influenced by this remarkable movement which has, with justification, been called the first Islamic movement in the country.[2]

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[1] For the first time, in 1835, the Company struck coins in which the Emperor's name was left out; and the same year also saw the decision to replace Persian by English as the language of the Court. Sind was conquered in 1843, the Punjab was annexed in 1848-49, Avadh was taken under direct British administration in 1856, and the fiction of the Mogul sovereignty was gone with the Sepoy Rising.

[2] See *supra*, p. 88.

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ITEMS OF ARABIC LEXICOGRAPHY

BY

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1. The price paid for Joseph, according to Koran 12, 20, was *darāhimu ma‘dūdatun* "numbered dirhems." The consensus of the commentators is that this implies "few." The explanation is given (in Ṭabarī, etc.) that it was the practice to weigh large amounts, and to count the coins only when a smaller sum (of less than an *ūqīya*, that is, forty dirhems) was involved.

It is a fact worthy of remark that the expression "numbered dirhems" has a precise linguistic parallel in the technical term of Byzantine commercial practice, ἀρίθμια νομισμάτια "numbered coins," common in the Greek papyri of Egypt. But the implication of this Greek expression is "good coin": that is to say, freshly minted coins which could be accepted at face value and hence counted out. Old and worn coins, termed ἐχόμενα νομισμάτια "coins reckoned by content," were weighed to ascertain their actual specie content and valued only according to that, not according to their number.

Since the Quraish merchants were certainly acquainted with Byzantine commercial practice, it might be suggested that *darāhimu ma‘dūdatun* was a current expression of Meccan trade modelled on the Greek phrase. If this be the case, the smallness of the price paid for Joseph will have found expression in the Koranic text only in the adjective *bakhs* attached to the word "price," and by the fact of the price being measured in dirhems rather than in dinars, and not in the adjective *ma‘dūdatun* which would then be a purely cliché adjective evoked by the word *darāhimu.*

2. In two places of Ibn Qutaiba's *Kitāb al-‘arab,*[1] the author alludes to a Persian practice of eating with knife and باليارحين The learned editor, Muḥammad Kurd ‘Alī, in a footnote to the first passage, confesses that the word is unknown to him: "I have not found it in any of the books available to me." But since in the second passage, the author contrasts this Persian custom with the Arab habit of eating with the bare hand, it seems probable that this word should be pointed with *jīm* and not with *ḥā’*, and that it is the dual of the

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[1] *Rasā’il al-bulaghā’*, 4th edn. 1374/1954, 363, 370.

Persian word *yārah/yāraj.* [1] The commonest sense of this is "bracelet," but the *Farhang-i Nafīsī* cites also the sense "glove" (*dastka*).

It might be suggested that the Persian custom alluded to was one of wearing large gauntlet gloves for eating, with the principal purpose of preventing the sleeves of the eater's garment from getting grease-spotted. [2]

3. The *Lisān* attributes three meanings to the word *yaraqān* (for which the *Qāmūs* cites also the alternative vocalization *yarqān*), namely: 1. jaundice, 2. a blight which affects cereal crops, 3. a kind of weevil (*dūd*) which also attacks crops. But there is a passage in Ibn Qutaiba's *Kitāb al-ʿarab* [3] where *yarqān* (certified in this vocalization by the meter) and *yarq* are used with reference to young locusts. It is related that a man was offered by a bedouin host a dish of locusts (*jarād*), but recoiled from it in disgust, and spoke four verses, of which one is: atānī bi-yarqāni 'l-dabā fī inā'ihi *.wa-lam yaku fī yarq al-dabā liya maṭʿamu,
"he brought me in his vessel *yarqān* of young locusts, but I have no relish for these."

Locusts have two life-phases. The mature ones in the swarming stage are winged and of a deep blackish brown color; earlier, in the crawling stage, they have no wings (being then called *dabā*) and vary in color, often being a pale greenish-yellow. In the light of the etymology [4] it may be surmised that the terms *yarqān* and *yarq* allude to the pale coloration of these young wingless locusts.

4. Jāḥiẓ in two places, in the *Manāqib al-turk* [5] and in the *K. al-bayān wa 'l-tabyīn,* [6] gives a list of military engines (such as the *dabbāba*, "movable siege-tower," *manjanīq*, "catapult," *ʿarrāda*, "a smaller variety of catapult," etc.), which includes the hitherto unexplained term الرتيلة (so in the *Bayān*), plural الرتيلات (so in the *Manāqib al-turk*). Van Vloten's edition vocalizes the latter form as *al-rutailāt.*

The Arabic dictionaries cite *rutailā* (both *mamdūd* and *maqṣūr*) in the sense of "tarantula spider." This insect is in Greek φαλάγγιον. But φαλάγγια also means "rollers placed under ships in order to move them on land." It seems a possible guess that the word we find in Jāḥiẓ is a by-form of the attested *rutailā*, coined in order to express something of the same kind as is meant by φαλάγγια in its technical sense: that is, some mechanism in the form of roller-wheels designed for moving the heavier items of siege equipment such as the *dabbāba* and the *manjanīq*.

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[1] Cited in the Arabic dictionaries in the form *yāraq* (see *Lisān*).

[2] Cf. the story of the grease-spots on the sleeves of the *jubba* of Sulaimān b. ʿAbd al-Malik, cited in the *Fakhrī*, ed. Dérenbourg, 174.

[3] Edition cited, p. 366.

[4] *Yar(a)qān* = "jaundice," Hebrew *yereq* "herbage, greenstuffs," and the etymologically cognate Arabic *waraq.*

[5] *Majmūʿat rasā'il* (Cairo, 1324 H.), 42.

[6] Ed. ʿAbd al-Salām Muḥammad Hārūn, II (Cairo, 1368/1939), 17.

5. The *Lisān*, under the root *qwr*, cites a bedouin proverb *qad anṣafa 'l-qārata man rāmāhā*, with no explanation beyond the statement that the Qāra were a clan of the Kināna tribe, and were renowned for their skill in archery. The proverb is included in Maidānī's collection, [1] and Freytag's note on it cites two stories. The first is that a man of the Qāra met a man of another tribe, and challenged him to a contest at eiher wrestling, running or archery; the man chose archery, whereupon the Qāra man exclaimed *qad anṣafta 'l-qārata*, meaning, according to Freytag "iuste egisti erga me." The second is that a battle took place between Quraish and Kināna, in which the Qāra fought on the Quraish side; "with these, who were archers, the opposing side fought in archery, and the Arabs were accustomed to say *anṣafahum hā'ulā'i*, meaning "These people dealt justly with them" in cases where the former were a match for the latter in some skill that they employed" ("hi iuste egerunt erga eos si opere et arte, quam tractabant, illis pares erant"). This second tale is given on the authority of Ibn Wāfid.

A third tale is given in chapter 7 of Tanūkhī's *Faraj*, on the authority of al-Aṣmaʿī. [2] According to this, the Qāra archers, "whose arrows never missed the mark," formed a corps d'élite in the service of the kings of Yemen; one day, a strange horseman appeared, and cried out, "Where are those who hit the mark?" (that is, he issued a challenge to them); whereupon the Arabs said, *anṣafa 'l-qārata man rāmāhā*.

The first of these stories looks like a simple etiological fable invented to explain the proverb on the basis of the commonest meaning of *anṣafa*, "deal equitably with someone." The second has in itself some measure of verisimilitude; for if it is true that *anṣafa* did have a meaning "be a match for someone," it would not be unnatural for the Kināna, when they found a group of warriors willing to stand up against the redoubtable Qāra archers, to exclaim with satisfaction, "Those who have entered into a shooting match with Qāra have proved a match for them." But al-Aṣmaʿī's story is somewhat puzzling, and it is not easy to discern the relevance of the proverb (interpreted in the above sense) in the setting in which it is placed. It is clear, moreover, that some readers did appreciate this difficulty: for in Dihistānī's Persian translation of the *Faraj*, [1] the proverb is quoted in an inverted form, *anṣafati 'l-qāratu man rāmāhā*. This perversion of the proverb is evidently due to someone who felt it unsuitable in the context to say, "The person who enters into a shooting competition with the Qāra is a match for them," and that it would be more natural to say, "Qāra are a match for anyone who enters into a shooting competition with them."

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[1] G. Freytag, *Arabum Proverbia*, chap. 21, n° 38 (II, 257).

[1] Edition of Baghdad, 1375/1955, 239. This edition contains a number of misprints. The tribal name is presented as "al-Fāra," and the verb *rāmā* is throughout the story misprinted as *ramā*—this in spite of the fact that the story contains an explicit lexicographical comment that the verb has the same reciprocal sense as the III form of *ʿaṭā* and implies "he shot at me and I shot at him," just as *muʿāṭāh* implies "he gave me and I gave him."

A crucial piece of evidence, however, is furnished by the Umayyad poet Ibn al-Dumaina. He, having become involved in a quarrel with the Salūl, said: [2] qālū hajatka salūlu l-lu'mi mukhfiyatan * fa 'l-yauma ahjū salūlan lā ukhāfīhā: qālū hajāka salūlīyun fa-qultu lahum * qad anṣafa l-ṣakhrata l-ṣammā'a rāmīhā "They say, the wretched Salūl have satirized you in secret; but now I will satirize Salūl and make no concealment about it. They say, a Salūlī has satirized you; but I say to them, The man who shoots an arrow at the hard rock *anṣafa* it."

Two points are clear in this. First, that the second line is an allusion to the well-known proverb which we have been discussing. Secondly, that Ibn al-Dumaina certainly cannot have understood *anṣafa* in the sense "be a match for," since this would convey precisely the opposite meaning to what he must have intended. The obvious implication of the line is, "The slanders of my detractors are as unavailing against me as an arrow shot at the hard rock"; the poet can therefore only have understood *anṣafa* in the sense "be unavailing against," for either of the senses "do justice to" or "be a match for" would make sheer nonsense of the line.

If we now apply to the three stories the sense of *anṣafa* which Ibn al-Dumaina clearly had in mind, we find that it gives easy and natural sense in all of them. The man who rashly elected to contend with a Qāri in the very weapon in which the Qāra were most expert was told, "You are no match for the Qāra (in that)"; and the warriors who faced up to the Qāra in battle, as well as the solitary challenger in Yemen, were warned, "No man who ever contended with Qāra in shooting has proved a match for them." In other words, the gloss to *anṣafa* given in the second story (the only one which explicitly glosses the word) has probably lost a negative at some stage in its transmission, and the gloss to *anṣafahum hāʾulāʾi* should originally have read "these people were *not* a match for them."

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[1] Tehran, undated (but approximately 1954), 302.

[2] Ed. Aḥmad Rāṭib al-Naffākh (Cairo, 1959), 8,

The upshot is that we probably have to recognize that, in addition to the well-known sense of *anṣafa* plus accusative, "deal justly with" (based on the idea of dealing out equal halves to two claimants), early Arabic also used it in the sense of "not to be a match for; be unavailing against" (based on the idea of being only "half as good" as the other).

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TROIS STADES DE L'ÉCONOMIE PROCHE-ORIENTALE

PAR

JACQUES BERQUE

> On préfère le rêve à la veille, l'intuition confuse à la vue nette de l'esprit, le vague ressentiment du passé à la connaissance et à l'expérience historique, le concret obscur d'un homme à l'énergie distincte d'une nation, le miracle fortuit de l'illumination individuelle d'en haut au miracle naturel de la végétation d'en bas, de la sève montante. L'action, l'action, l'action! [1]

Cette apostrophe, dont J. Michelet souffletait une Europe encore engoncée dans les attitudes d'autrefois, que de réformateurs orientaux l'auront, implicitement, reprise à leur compte! Encore à présent, de graves économistes, cherchant à déterminer les „freins" qui limitent le développement, les trouvent, comme de juste, dans des attitudes communément imputées à l'Islam. Et pourtant, la réflexion de Michelet montre bien que ces „freins" liés à telle ou telle attitude, ne sont le privilège d'aucun dogme. Reste à savoir si tel ou tel système, dès lors qu'on le considère non dans l'absolu métaphysique, mais dans l'histoire, hérite encore de ce genre de responsabilités.

Certes, ainsi posé, le débat est trop vaste pour le sociologue. Celui-ci peut se borner à faire ressortir s'il existe ou non des connexions entre les diverses catégories de la vie dans une société déterminée. Par exemple, si des rapports précis peuvent être dégagés entre un comportement, une croyance et les situations concrètes. Il faudrait, en ce cas, définir ces rapports et même les délimiter. Il faudrait aussi, le cas échéant, découvrir que les discontinuités, les ruptures, dans des ensembles dont les liaisons offrent, à coup sûr, n'ont rien d'automatique. Une société est plus ou moins intégrée, plus ou moins lâche ou serrée. Les faits ne s'y présentent pas tous de niveau. Non seulement on n'y trouve jamais d'enchaînement automatique entre les phénomènes, mais souvent se constatent entre eux ce que j'appellerai des „ruptures de charge sociale." Il se peut d'ailleurs que, pour le sociologue et pour l'historien, ces dénivellations, ces irrégularités ne soient pas moins intéressantes que leur contraire. Enfin, c'est une grave question que de repérer, dans un ensemble ainsi plus ou moins structuré, ce qui est fonction et ce qui est symbole, les déterminations et les styles. Et nulle part peut-être, la force des signes n'est aussi décisive que dans un système aussi conscient de sa propre originalité que l'Islam.

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[1] J. Michelet, *Journal*.

Considérons d'abord un stade, que nous pouvons qualifier d'archaïque, du monde arabe. Par exemple, au moment où, sur toute la face sud de la Méditerranée, il subit l'impact du capitalisme d'entreprise et de l'économie d'expansion, au moment où il subit, beaucoup plus qu'il n'y participe, la typologie caractéristique de l'époque. Le percement du Canal de Suez (1869) est aux yeux de tous une grande aventure financière à instrumentation technique et incidences politiques. Nul ne s'y trompe. Pas plus le khédive d'Égypte que les diplomaties rivales qui se disputent son bon vouloir. Mais, en dehors de cette auguste participation, l'Égypte est surtout représentée dans l'Isthme par des travailleurs réquisitionnés. Cela cause un scandale international, un arbitrage impérial et des avenants contractuels qui obèrent définitivement le destin du pays. Mais enfin, l'initiateur, entrepreneur, ou innovateur — comme on dit aujourd'hui — reste occidental. Devant lui, l'Orient méditerranéen demeure dans une passivité évocatrice de tout un contexte historique et géographique.

Ces pays, tout ou partie, appartiennent au domaine méditerranéen aride ou sub-aride. Cela n'est pas sans rapport avec un certain régime de production et de propriété. Sur un fond de vieille civilisation agro-pastorale, jaillissent de nobles cités: Damas, Bagdad, Alep, Le Caire, Tripoli. Il règne, entre le citadin et le bédouin qui l'assiège, des discordances et des correspondances spécifiques: économiques, mais aussi sociales, morales, culturelles. Or ce monde est en régression ou en stagnation par rapport à ses propres phases d'innovation, qui remontent à un passé déjà lointain. Il n'en sera que plus vulnérable à l'agression technique et commerciale. Ses mœurs se définissent par le traditionalisme en matière de croyances et d'habitudes mentales, par une structure hiérarchisée ou oligarchique de la société, par une orientation idéaliste, spiritualiste et même, à certains égards, mythique. Il n'est pas nécessaire d'établir une liaison logique entre tous ces aspects, qu'il nous suffit de pouvoir tour à tour dissocier et regrouper. Mais on observe, empiriquement, que l'action extérieure agit globalement sur l'ensemble l'orsqu'elle agit assez fort sur l'une des parties. M. de Lesseps quémande les complaisances du dynaste local pour obtenir son privilège, entamer ses travaux. Réciproquement, les dépenses occasionnées par les indemnisations auxquelles est contrainte l'Égypte obèrent le pays et sont, à terme, responsables de l'intervention d'un contrôle financier bipartite, puis d'une occupation étrangère. L'écologie du coton et de la canne à sucre ont déjà commencé à modifier le paysage rural, le rhytme de l'année agricole, la condition et la psychologie sociale du fellah. En moins d'un siècle, à partir du percement du Canal jusqu'à sa nationalisation, l'histoire égyptienne aura offert une série de variations expérimentales de ces équilibres internes. Il est vrai que c'est là un cas privilégié, celui-là même où, selon la juste observation de Milner, le jeu des facteurs économiques s'opère avec le plus de netteté. De l'arpentage au Nilomètre, des effets de l'irrigation pérenne dans le Delta à ceux de la planification, ce pays de terres grasses, ce pays pour physiocrate, aura été aussi un pays pour économètre.

En tout cela, on le voit, la religion ne joue pas un rôle déterminant. En sera-t-il de même dans des régions de moindre priorité rurale, si l'on ose dire, ou de plus forte bourgeoisie?

Représentons-nous Damas,[1] au temps de son gouverneur réformiste Midḥat Pacha. Figurons-nous ce que pouvait être l'enchevêtrement des souks dans la vieille ville. La topographie du négoce était tellement entrée dans les mœurs, tellement invétérée, que lorsque Midḥat parla d'élargir une rue, les marchands s'y opposèrent. Le réformiste n'eut de ressource que l'incendie. A quoi tenaient donc ces bourgeois? Au cadre à la fois physique et institutionnel de leur vie, à ce régime commercial basé sur les khans. Ce sont de grands édifices à cour interne, sur laquelle s'ouvrent les logettes des commerçants. La boutique n'est d'ailleurs pas seulement un siège de relations économiques, mais encore, et je dirai même surtout, de relations sociales. On ménage en façade une petite estrade, où sont disposées des chaises de jonc, soigneusement hiérarchisées par la hauteur. Là siège le négociant. Autour de lui, ses invités: des clients, des voisins, des notabilités de passage. Un peu plus loin, des hommes de peine cordent les ballots de marchandises qui circuleront sur toute l'étendue de l'empire ottoman, voire même beaucoup plus loin, vers l'Iran et jusqu'en Afghanistan.

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[1] Je m'appuie surtout, pour cette description, sur les "Souvenirs" *Mudhakkirāt* de Fakhrī al-Bārūdī, et sur les deux récents volumes de Ẓāfir al-Qāsimi, *Maktab ʿAnbar* et *Fuṣūl fi 'l-lugha*.

Ces négociants, bien que de mine vénérable, sont, en ce temps-là, presque tous illettrés. Savoir écrire est une profession, presque initiatique. Le négociant participe d'autres mystères, que signalent ses propos, ses gestes, et jusqu'à son costume. Il porte traditionnellement le bonnet entortillé d'une étoffe de soie, le vêtement appelé *sakū*, et d'autres insignes vestimentaires qui ont disparu plus ou moins depuis, mais qui sont alors tellement liés au type et aux devoirs sociaux du bourgeois que, lorsqu'il s'avise d'en changer, le pacha le convoque et les lui fait arborer à nouveau. Chacun doit rester fidèle à son groupe et à sa figure. Lorsqu'il y aura le chemin de fer, ces personnages cossus voyageront modestement en troisième classe. Lorsqu'ils ont des déplacements à faire (beaucoup possèdent des jardins dans les environs), ils louent une monture, qui sera plus fréquemment un âne qu'une mule ou qu'un cheval. Ou bien, ils montent dans une voiture de location, mais non sans manifester une gêne de bon aloi. On dit à l'époque que le commerçant, surpris sur une voiture de location, se voile le visage quand il craint d'être reconnu par un confrère.

Que dire des pratiques économiques? Elles se fondent non sur l'écrit, mais sur la parole. Presque jamais il n'est question de contrats entre gens de cette sorte. Une fidélité paradoxale rassure les uns sur les autres ces âpres compétiteurs. L'avarice aidant, ils ne s'adressent jamais de lettres, mais chargent l'un des leurs, qui se déplace de ville en ville, d'emporter une épaisse liasse de messages pour les distribuer à son arrivée. La confiance qu'impliquent de telles transactions va si loin que, très souvent, des sommes importantes sont transmises par ces voies qui, pourtant, nous paraîtraient bien chanceuses. Vers 1875, l'un de ces commerçants, voyageant de Damas à Alep, fut chargé de porter une somme au correspondant de son ami dans cette dernière ville. Lorsqu'il arrive, il remet les deux cents livres ottomanes à leur destinataire. Celui-ci ouvre la lettre et s'exclame: „Mais il est ici question de trois cents livres!" Ce sont-là, notons-le, sommes considérables pour l'époque. „Qu'à cela ne tienne," dit le messager, „j'ai effectivement dépensé, à mon propre usage, les cent livres supplémentaires: les voici." Il paye, rentre chez lui, et se tient coi. Six mois passent. L'expéditeur s'aperçoit alors de l'erreur, convoque le messager, le rembourse, avec mille excuses, et lui demande: „Comment se fait-il que vous ne m'ayez rien dit?" „Si j'avais contesté quoi que ce fût, dit l'autre, mon renom sur la place aurait été gâté. Or il vaut bien plus de cent livres!"

Tel est donc le négociant, fleur de civilisation citadine, que trouve devant lui le capitalisme de monopole, lorsqu'il commence à investir le Proche-Orient. „Commencer" n'est pas le mot, car il faudrait fairere monter le récit très haut. Mais tenons-nous-en seulement à cette fin du dix-neuvième siècle. Les soyeux de Lyon investissent la montagne libanaise, et, de proche en proche, s'en vont quérir la soie dans tout l'arrière-pays. Citons encore les entreprises concurrentes des Anglais et des Français pour évacuer, de Damas vers la mer, les blés du Ḥaurān, car Damas est, en même temps qu'une grande ville d'artisanat, un entrepôt agricole, fleurant bon alentour l'huile et les abricots de la Ghauṭā'. Lorsque le découpage des Mandats du premier après-guerre lui fait perdre de surcroît une bonne part de ces activités de transit, ce sera, pour l'économie citadine, un coup décisif.

Du Maroc à l'Iraq, les cinquante dernières années voient s'aggraver, par paliers, cet effondrement. L'amertume qui en résulte n'est pas étrangère au surgissement des premiers partis nationalistes.

De ces types décadents, désuets ou compromis, passons à d'autres types déjà mieux adaptés au combat économique moderne. Années 20: des pouvoirs étrangers dominent le monde islamo-méditerranéen d'un bout à l'autre. Mais déjà des mouvements d'émancipation nationale se font jour. Nous ne nous intéresserons ici qu'à leur incidence économique.

Revenons à Damas. L'Académie donne une réception à l'Égyptien Ṭal'at Ḥarb. Il s'agit du dynamique personnage qui, à l'époque, essaye dans son pays de coaliser un capitalisme purement national et de le lancer vers des réalisations techniques. Or, le jour de cette réception, après qu'on ait entendu le discours de l'invité, et la réponse de Luṭfī al-Ḥaffār, autre digne représentant de la bourgeoisie locale, il est donné lecture d'une longue épître de Shauqī, le poète à la mode. Dans cette épître règne le plus capiteux mélange de virtuosité linguistique, de dévotion, d'allégeance aux vieilles mœurs, d'espérance patriotique, et en même temps, de sens des affaires. Dieu, la citadinité, l'entreprise et la baraka, tout cela est célébré simultanément dans ce document d'histoire sociale privilégié.

La banque Miṣr, puisqu'il faut l'appeler par son nom, fonde une vingtaine d'établissements plus ou moins importants dans une période qui s'échelonne entre 1924 (Société pour l'exportation des cotonnades) et 1946 (Société pour la soie artificielle), en passant par des sociétés de mines, de carrières, de filatures, de tourisme, d'assurances. D'assurances, c'est-à-dire spéculant sur le calcul des probabilités et sur l'intérêt de l'argent, toutes choses qui vont directement à l'inverse d'une vieille position dogmatique! Or Ṭalʿat Ḥarb[1] est un musulman dévôt, personnellement hostile aux intérêts bancaires, au point, dit-on, de ne jamais percevoir lui-même les intérêts des capitaux qu'il place. On raconte que, se trouvant en France vers 1930, il voit dans le journal que l'un de ses commanditaires a gagné une course de chevaux. Scandaleux recours à l'aléa! Il télégraphie au coupable d'avoir, soit à se défaire de son écurie, soit à renoncer à ses participations. Mais voici qui complète le type. Ce grand manager est en même temps un grand lettré. Il unit une dévotion scrupuleuse à l'aventure économique. Certes, ses entreprises n'ont pas toujours marché très bien. Elles ont eu besoin d'être renflouées en plusieurs circonstances. Mais enfin, elles conquièrent en Orient un prestige considérable.

En 1930, une seconde phase s'amorce. [2] Elle tend à assurer la protection d'initiatives nationales encore balbutiantes. Etatisme national contre monopole étranger: personne n'y songe trop encore. Mais le type économique oriental a déjà évolué. Non sans déceptions, voire non sans réactions des mœurs. Il suffit de feuilleter les rapports de ces établissements, par exemple, ceux de la banque Miṣr, ou de la National Bank d'Égypte, ou de toutes ces autres banques qui se développent peu à peu dans le monde arabe, pour voir comment toute marche en avant est compromise par les timidités du capital local, ou même certaines répugnances invétérées.

Voici, au hasard des documents, des extraits de ces rapports bancaires. Celui-ci se plaint de l'insouciance manifestée par la classe dominante à l'égard des problèmes de l'industrie. Il reproche au pays (c'est en 1951) de manquer de politique d'ensemble. Cet autre signale un abstentionnisme dans les investissements (c'est en 1953). L'homme qui parle est un grand personnage de l'époque, et fort caractéristique. Il déplore une torpeur qui lui semble provenir, à la fois, des interventions spasmodiques de l'état et d'une récession économique accrue. On est découragé, dit-il, par le foisonnement des réglements et des lois. Concurremment, d'autres milieux, plus émotifs, craignent les excès de l'égalitarisme dans la redistribution des revenus: ce sont là craintes classiques des porteurs de capitaux. Ce qu'il y a de plus local, peut-être, c'est que l'investissement, du moins celui qui provient de cette couche de la société, se porte plus volontiers vers un certain type de placements, par exemple, vers l'achat d'immeubles urbains ou de latifundia. Voilà encore, datant de 1950, d'autres plaintes. Comme par le passé, le croît des revenus agricoles continue surtout à s'investir soit en achat de terres ou en constructions immobilières, soit en importation de produits de luxe. D'autre part, s'exprime un sentiment d'insécurité lié au mauvais fonctionnement de l'état, à une fiscalité défectueuse, à la prévarication.

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[1] Cf. Ibrāhīm ʿAbduh et ʿAlī ʿAbd al-ʿAzīm, *Tidhkār Muḥammad Ṭalʿat Ḥarb*, 1945.

[2] La modification de la réglementation douanière égyptienne, dans un sens protectionniste, ouvre pour tout l'Orient une nouvelle phase.

Ce qui se dégage de ces documents, qu'on pourrait multiplier, c'est l'attachement des acteurs de l'économie, en ce temps, à des traits encore bourgeois, voire seigneuriaux, et à un libéralisme individualiste, volontiers anarchisant. Plusieurs des grands noms de ce monde économique, pour l'époque, et dont certains se sont maintenus jusqu'aujourd'hui, s'intéressent encore plutôt à la spéculation qu'à l'investissement productif. On pourrait même dire qu'à l'égard d'un investissement étranger encore privilégié, le capitalisme local, dans la mesure où il se dégage, poursuit plutôt une sorte de revanche mercantile, voire même une profitable redistribution du privilège. Les circonstances où sont nées les premières tentatives d'industrialisation en Egypte, et le rôle non négligeable qu'y ont joué des personnalités européennes, [1] conduit donc, à nuancer sur ce point, une imagerie trop simpliste.

Le type humain qui ressort de ces entreprises, et qui met assez de temps à s'aligner sur son partenaire occidental, du point de vue de l'innovation ou de la véritable mise en œuvre technique, n'en a pas moins progressé dès Ṭal'at Ḥarb jusqu'à 'Abbūd. Il peut, encore aujourd'hui, malgré l'invasion du dirigisme dans presque tous les pays du Tiers-Monde, alléguer des succès concrets au Liban, par exemple. Et il compte partout des tenants irréductibles, que la planification doit concilier ou briser. Cependant, la phase dite libérale de l'économie avait correspondu, sur le plan politique, avec la phase coloniale qu'ont traversée ces pays. De là vient que ses principes, ou plutôt ses pratiques, et ses hommes subissent aujourd'hui un tel discrédit de la part des citoyens les plus dynamiques, et d'une opinion somme toute majoritaire.

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[1] Notamment Naus bey, des Sucreries. Cela est parfaitement noté par Ḥāfiẓ 'Afīfī.

Nous en venons ici à un troisième moment historique. Il commence à peine, mais s'autorise déjà dans certaines nations arabes, l'Égypte surtout, de réalisations que nous n'avons pas ici à évaluer, encore qu'elles soient considérables. Elles nous intéressent seulement par la sorte de démenti typologique qu'elles infligent à un passé encore tout proche.

C'est ainsi qu'en 1960, le gouvernement de la R.A.U. nationalise la banque Miṣr. Cette mesure, d'une importance considérable, s'escorte d'une mesure non moins grave, la nationalisation de la National Bank. L'exposé des motifs est extrêmement instructif. Il allègue que la part de la banque Misr dans le bilan unifié des banques d'affaires en Égypte se monte à 38%. Une seule personne y possède 14% du capital social. La référence à ces notables de la période d'entre-deux-guerres qui ont eu leur part de création économique, de portée sociale, mais qui maintenant semblent rentrer dans l'ombre, est évidente. Dix actionnaires à eux seuls détiennent 20%; cinquante, 42% du capital social de l'Égypte! Et d'autre part, le rédacteur rappelle que le renflouement de la banque Miṣr, en 1941, avait engagé tellement de crédits de l'État, et qu'il s'ensuivait, du point de vue de l'orthodoxie financière, une telle faiblesse de cette banque que c'est un véritable effondrement de toute l'économie qu'il fallût craindre, au cas où elle subirait de nouveaux échecs. En dehors de cette explication conjoncturelle, la raison vraie de pareilles mesures, c'est la tendance à l'étatisation, le législateur dit à la „socialisation." Le gouvernement cherche à grouper autour de la *Mu'assasa*, ou Organisme économique, les sociétés jouant le rôle le plus décisif.[1]

Ainsi donc se pourraient opposer, dans un raccourci à vrai dire bien sommaire, trois moments économiques, trois types de société, trois types d'hommes: 1° le marchand damasquin pré-capitaliste; 2° le bourgeois proche-oriental, s'efforçant à l'entreprise moderne pour concurrencer le monopole européen, surtout entre les deux guerres; et 3° aujourd'hui, le manager étatique, travaillant à l'exécution du plan. Il y a, dans plusieurs de ces pays, réaction violente contre le libéralisme de la phase ancienne. L'antithèse des types humains principaux n'est plus celle du commerçant local s'opposant à l'entrepreneur étranger. C'est celle du manager étatique s'opposant à la fois au capital étranger et au capital national. D'où des conflits aussi typiques que celui de Suez (1956) ou que la scission qui, en 1961, oppose au socialisme nassérien un néo-libéralisme syrien.[1] Toutefois, dans la plupart de ces pays, l'économie devient de plus en plus centraliste, de plus en plus concertée.

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[1] *Economie et Finances de la Syrie et des pays arabes*, n⁰ de février 1960.

De même que la phase d'entre-deux-guerres gardait beaucoup de traits d'un négoce à la Sindbad, l'on peut se demander s'il n'y a pas, dans les modernes planifications, résurgence du vieux fondamentalisme, de ce recours aux *uṣūl* qu'autrefois proclamaient inlassablement les juristes, et dont, peut-être aujourd'hui, procède le législateur moderne, à sa façon, lorsqu'il regroupe les énergies du peuple en organismes monolithiques. Ce serait, dans ce cas, transposition économique modernisante de vieux idéaux sociaux, de vieilles tendances, d'une vieille conception du monde qu'à vrai dire nous avons toujours trouvée présente, dans ces trois phases, sous des formes extrêmement différentes, mais qui aujourd'hui s'exprimerait par le passage direct à la planification socialiste et l'insertion voulue dans le circuit économique mondial.

J'arrête là cette revue de moments historiques et de types sociaux que l'on pourrait prolonger indéfiniment en l'étendant dans la durée et dans l'espace. L'exposé qui précède est certes trop sommaire pour autoriser des conclusions théoriques. Si l'on voulait bien toutefois créditer l'auteur de recherches plus amples auxquelles il ne peut ici se référer en détail, on accepterait comme thème de discussion les idées suivantes:

1° Il y a eu retard historique dans l'accès des pays arabes à la civilisation industrielle.

2° Ce retard se comble à une vitesse accélérée, non tellement par passage au capitalisme d'entreprise, que par voie de planification étatique. Celle-ci s'avère aujourd'hui de beaucoup la forme la plus efficace.

3° Un rapport se manifeste, à tous les stades de ce développement, entre la capacité technique et économique de ces sociétés d'une part, et, d'autre part, les autres traits de leur personnalité, et notamment leur *Weltanschauung*, leur attitude à l'égard du monde, leur complexion générale.

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[1] Cf. le conflit encore plus caractéristique qui oppose les négociants de la Ḥamīdīya, à Damas, et les ulémas qui les soutiennent, aux nationalisations du Baʿth (janv. 1965).

4° Mais, pas plus pour les Arabes que pour toutes autres sociétés, la sociologie n'est en état, à son degré actuel d'avancement, de définir dans le détail la nature et le degré de ce rapport. Ce n'est pas là simplement un aveu d'impuissance, car cela peut conduire à une vision plus positive. L'histoire sociale des pays arabes, depuis un demi-siècle, fournit une documentation quasi expérimentale dont nous pouvons essayer de tirer quelques conclusions plus précises.

5° Dans le stade le plus archaïque, ces sociétés sont dominées par des attitudes culturelles qu'elles-mêmes rapportent au traditionalisme religieux. Mais ce dernier en est plutôt le signe que la cause.

6° De plus en plus, elles évoluent vers des attitudes qui s'interprètent en fonction de la construction nationale, donc de visées d'efficacité et d'intégration au circuit de la civilisation industrielle mondiale. Dans une certaine mesure, elles annoncent déjà un dépassement du stade national.

7° Le débat n'est donc plus celui du théologique s'opposant au positif, d'un archaïsme spiritualiste s'opposant à un certain matérialisme innovateur. Or c'est ainsi que toute une génération d'entre-deux-guerres avait conçu l'opposition Orient-Occident: Orient de l'esprit, Occident de la matière! Mais le débat n'est plus celui-là. Il est celui d'un effort collectif cherchant à échapper au „sous-développement," pour s'aligner sur les ambitions du monde moderne.

8° Nous constatons, dans un laps de temps arbitrairement réduit à un demi-siècle, un changement caractéristique de signes. L'exemple des pays arabes apporte à la théorie générale cette contribution non négligeable, de montrer que la recherche des déterminations sociales, qui aboutit à d'inextricables difficultés quand nous nous en tenons au seul problème de prétendus rapports de causalité entre un certain credo et le statut général d'un groupe, s'éclaire, si nous la complétons par une recherche sémantique.

S'il y a donc un enseignement général à tirer de ces pays, pour cette période, c'est que, dans une enquête de ce genre, nous devons considérer non seulement les déterminations des faits les uns par les autres, mais aussi les significations de certains de ces faits les uns par rapport aux autres. Dans l'espace d'un demi-siècle, le monde arabe, dans son combat pour l'histoire, a renouvelé, ou tend à renouveler, non seulement ses choses mais ses signes, et leur rapport mutuel.

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THE PROOFS OF ISLAM: RELIGION AND POLITICS IN IRAN [1]

BY

LEONARD BINDER

I have always been fascinated by the suggestion that Middle Eastern politics had to be different from Western politics because of the factor of Islam. In its simplest form, the assertion is made that church and state were never distinguished in Islam as they were in Western Christianity, hence it follows that Middle Eastern politics cannot be understood without first understanding Islam. This dictum seems not unreasonable, though its antithesis, that is, that one may study Western politics without understanding Christianity may not be as reasonable. There are, however, a number of practical difficulties that have arisen from the attempt to attribute specific political acts to a theological ideal, without concern for intervening variables. Once we have indicated that we have not the wherewithal to solve the normative controversy, we must further admit that no adduction of instances of good or bad political behavior can prove that the revelation on which Islam is based is either true or false. The Political Scientist is not properly interested in that question at all.

But still the fascination is there; how can Islam and politics be meaningfully studied? The answer to this question involves some refinement of the naive notions with which we began. Once we stop looking for the Islamic essence, it dawns on us that there are many views about the nature of Islam. Which one shall we pursue? This multiplicity of views was not always so severe nor did earlier differences of interpretation take the shape which they now have. If we examine theological and legal thought in Islam as it came down to the present day, we find that, despite some opposition, there has been one central tendency which has maintained itself to this time. This traditional Islam is the mainstream of Islam in history and in politics. It may be, as the Modernists and Fundamentalists hold, that that tradition is a distortion of the true Islam, but the fact remains that traditional Islam has been dominant in the Middle East and even now divergent views are distinguished by their opposition to tradition.

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[1] This paper was originally presented as a lecture at The University of Chicago under the auspices of the Harris Foundation.

Traditional Islam, while not as singular as the Islam of the Koran, was much the same in all Muslim lands. There were different schools of law, different customary accretions to Islamic beliefs and different religious practices throughout the wide territory where Islam held sway; and all these might be called traditional. There was also a sharp difference of view on the nature of the legitimate political order between the Sunnis and the Shiʿites. Consequently, the degree of unity which has been maintained, even the survival of older interpretations to the point of their forthright restatement in these times, bears explanation. There can be little doubt that this explanation is to be found in the organization and tradition of the ulama. These people, the learned men of Islam, have managed to this day to preserve their status as the proprietors of the symbols of Islam. Their exclusive right to interpret Islam has only recently come into dispute. They also have managed to preserve the medieval statement of Islam in all its essentials. Insofar as one can speak of the interests of an institution as formless as this one, the interests of the ulama are inevitably bound up with the fate of traditional Islam.

Traditional Islam, then, is the Islam of the ulama, and the study of the political role of the ulama comes close to being a study of the relation between traditional Islam and politics. This is an approximation, for one cannot exclude from the total picture those traditionally pious Muslims who are influenced by and who in turn influence the ulama. It is, however, clear that no group or collection of people is as closely identified with traditional Islam as are the ulama.

In thus limiting our problem, we have made it more manageable, or so it seems. We have now to deal with the political role of a considerable group of individuals who are identified by their membership in a loosely framed institution. The most obvious approach for dealing with this kind of social phenomenon would seem to be some application of what is loosely known as group theory in Political Science.

This is not the place to go into a lengthy critique of group theory; besides the major points only have recently been made by Professor S. Rothman. [1] In his article, Professor Rothman holds that the most general statement of group theory falls short in neglecting to distinguish between primary and secondary groups and in the failure to make adequate and consistent use of the "dual concept of status-roles." To balance these two criticisms we might say that the first regards primary groups and the second regards institutional groups.

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[1] S. Rothman, "Systematic Political Theory," *APSR* LVI, n⁰ 1 (March, 1960).

The methodological significance of these objections in the study of the ulama is crucial. While it is clear that concepts related to primary groups and those related to institutional groups interpenetrate one another in the real world, as say, Professors March and Simon have so ably shown; [1] there is no necessary empirical or logical connection between these and secondary interest or associational groups. Were we discussing a political system in which such secondary groups played a salient role, as in the United States, it might be theoretically possible to find a way of conjoining all three. In Iran, however, secondary or interest groups play no such role.

All the reasons why interest groups are less effective in Iran than in the United States cannot be given here, but the main point is that, given the existing political system, American style pressure politics are dysfunctional. The government tends to suppress or control interest groups. Consequently, it is far more efficient for an individual to exploit his personal contacts, that is his primary affiliations, rather than to join a secondary association, when he seeks some benefit.

In the study of politics in Iran, interest group activity cannot serve as the central core of analysis. This is somewhat unfortunate, for the interest group model has the virtue of greatly simplifying political conflict. It is at the interest group level that interests are most clearly articulated and opposed to competing demands. The articulation of interests through primary and institutional groups is at best diffuse and at worst contradictory. While such diffuseness and contradictoriness cannot be resolved at the level of primary groups, it does seem possible to relieve the burden of analysis at the institutional level. Since the concepts relevant to both types of group do interpenetrate one another, it might be sensible to attribute some of the diffuseness and all of the contradictory character of their demands to primary group activity. The institutional group can be otherwise analyzed in terms of status-roles. To quote from Professor Rothman: "(status-role) is, first of all, on a different analytic level than the concept of group, for it represents an abstraction from action rather than a type of actor; and, secondly, its traditional definition calls for . . . its use as a variable which is at least as important if not more important than group membership for explaining individual attitudes." [1]

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[1] J. G. March and H. A. Simon, *Organizations* (New York, 1958).

Our problem now resolves itself into two issues. The first of these is the political role of the ulama as an institution; and the second is the effect on the performance of this role which is produced by primary group activity. In point of fact it is only the first issue which we have set before us at this time; the second issue really comprising but a small part of the much wider topic of the role of primary groups in general in Iran. Nevertheless, it seems both artificial and impractical to avoid any discussion of primary group factors while insisting only on the elaboration of the ideal role of the ulama. It seems artificial because the collection of status-roles which constitutes the ulama has relevance only to an ideal political system. It is impractical because these status-roles are, as we shall see, but imperfectly articulated in the ideal, so that we can in no wise get a comprehensive picture of the ulama as an institution without reference to the non-legitimate practices and roles which have become institutionalized through primary group activity.

Having laid down these methodological preliminaries, the time has come to posit some more specific hypotheses and to indicate the manner in which the argument will proceed. Our first hypothesis is that Shiʿite Islam grants greater religious authority to the ulama than does Sunni Islam. Secondly, chance historical events and other situational factors have determined that the Shiʿite clergy are not so strongly challenged in their authority as are the Sunni ulama in neighboring countries. Thirdly, the ulama of Iran are more centrally organized in terms of formal institutional status-roles than are the Sunni ulama. Fourthly, they have been far more effective at the level of primary group activity in maintaining the solidarity of their organization and their independence of government control, in eliminating or weakening competitors, and in satisfying their own demands as individuals. After providing some support for these contentions, I would like to relate traditional Islam to the political system of Iran in the most general terms, then describe the types of functionally political activity which the ulama are able to perform, and finally to indicate which are the pressures for changing the existing state of affairs.

Shiʿite Islam differs from Sunni Islam on the matter of the succession to the early Caliphate after the death of the Prophet Muhammad. The doctrinal points and proofs have been presented in detail in the work of Dwight Donaldson[1] and more concisely in a modern restatement for Western readers by Professor Mahmud Shahabi.[2] The essence of the Shiʿite position is that the Prophet designated his son-in-law, ʿAlī, as his successor, but that others, less well qualified, managed to usurp the office of Caliph. The third Caliph was so incapable of restraining his corrupt relatives that his incompetence brought about a violent protest in which the Caliph was killed. ʿAlī is generally acknowledged to have been the fourth Caliph, but his Caliphate was contested throughout his short tenure. After ʿAlī's assassination, the Umayyad Caliphate became firmly established, and those who sought to reassert the rights of ʿAlī were suppressed. The most celebrated of these efforts was that of ʿAlī's second son, Ḥusain, who was martyred with his small band of supporters at Kerbela in what is now Southern Iraq. According to the Shiʿites, the Umayyad Caliphate and its successor, the Abbasid, were never legitimate; the only legitimate authority of the Islamic Community being that of the Imams. All of the Imams were direct descendants of ʿAlī and of the Prophet through his daughter Fāṭima. There were twelve Imams including ʿAlī. The twelfth Imam has hidden himself from this world, to return at the appointed time. After his disappearance there began the period of the lesser occultation in which the Imam was represented by a series of four deputies. This period is also known as that of the specific agency; that is the specific agency of these deputies of the Imam. After the death of the fourth deputy there began the great occultation and the general agency; that is the agency of all of the learned men or ulama for the hidden Imam. This agency is further sustained by a tradition attributed to the Imam Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq who said that all those who might act as judges over the Muslims and interpret the law had their appointment ex ante from him. Since the Imam Jaʿfar is looked upon as the founder of Shiʿite jurisprudence and the twelve-Imam Shiʿism of Iran is also referred to as Jaʿfarī Shiʿism, this tradition is doubly significant in establishing the authority of the ulama.

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[1] Rothman, *op. cit.*, 19.

The Shiʿite ulama, acting as the general agency until the hidden Imam reveals himself, performs the function of the Imam. The Imam is not a prophet, for the Shiʿites too, adhere strictly to the doctrine that Muhammad was the last of the Prophets and that his revelation perfected all earlier ones. The function of the Imam is to interpret the law of the Koran and to apply it, even develop it, as new situations arise. Since the Imamate passed, with one exception, by heredity through the eldest male offspring in the line of ʿAlī, it follows that a certain charismatic quality is attached to that office. This quality was further enhanced by the assertions made against the Sunni apologists of the Abbasid Caliphate that the Shiʿite Imam was not only eligible under the Sunni rules of the Caliphate, but that he was the best of those qualified and impeccable besides. The infallibility of the Imam is as firmly asserted and, in practice, unequivocally adhered to. The ulama who act in the name of the Imam do not share all of this charisma by any means, but some of it does accrue to them. They are not considered infallible nor impeccable, and the most careful ulama may sign themselves as criminal and wrong-doer in the humble recognition that they may have judged incorrectly.

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[1] D. Donaldson, *The Shi'ite Religion* (London, 1933).

[2] M. Shahabi, in K. Morgan, ed., *Islam, The Straight Path* (New York, 1958).

The Sunni ulama enjoy no similar charismatic quality. Neither the Umayyad nor the Abbasid Caliphs claimed the legal authority of the Shiʿite Imams. The early Abbasid era knew a moderate form of inquisition, still a courtier's very early suggestion that the Abbasid Caliphs assume the right to settle doctrinal disputes never came to anything. Only a little later we find Sunni apologists asserting that the Caliph need not be the best of those qualified for the job, nor even the most learned. Al-Bāqillānī was of the opinion that the consensus of the learned should guide the Caliph and even depose him if he stubbornly refused to follow the law. Al-Ghazālī merely asserted that the Caliph could legitimize his position by taking the advice of the ulama.

Under these circumstances we find that the Shiʿite ulama derive their legitimacy largely from the Imam, while the Sunni ulama can lend a measure of legitimacy to the Caliph. For centuries, now, we have had neither an Imam nor a Caliph; and in practical terms both bodies of ulama have had to contend with political authorities who established themselves without benefit of religious procedure. Both have tried to play the role assigned to the ulama by al-Ghazālī. Consequently, a single tradition of the formal relations of the ulama and the Sultan or Shah has come to prevail. On the other hand, there is no question but what the doctrinal authority of the Shiʿite ulama is both more concrete and more prestigeful than that of the Sunni ulama. The Sunni ulama do not perform the function of the Caliph, but rather assist the Muslim Community to do that which is incumbent upon all. There is no religious office in connection with the function of the Sunni ulama.

The superior authority which inheres in the Shiʿite ulama as a consequence of their relationship to the Imam was further codified as Shiʿite legal theory developed. All Muslims believe that the good is that which God wills and the evil that which God forbids. Man's whole duty is to comply with the will of God, for which reason God revealed his will to man through the prophets. After the last revelation, the Sunnis hold that man can be rightly guided if he follows the explicit commands of the Koran, if he follows the traditions reporting the sayings and doings of the Prophet himself, if he follows the consensus of the Community which by the higher authority of tradition will never be in error, or if he deduces new applications by strict analogy to known rules. The Shiʿite ulama believe that more is necessary if man is to be rightly guided. Man must needs have some immediate inspired exponent of the law, else he will inevitably go astray. The Imams are meant by God for this purpose. In the absence of the hidden Imam, the ulama must provide for the divine guidance of the Community. The Shiʿite ulama, however, claim no charismatic quality or inspiration for themselves. In fact they claim no more than the long years of study which is the qualification of the Sunni ulama. This failing is accounted for by the differences in the *uṣūl* or science of the roots of the law of the Shiʿites.

Evidently, Shiʿite *uṣūl* were slow in developing. Professor Shahabi explains this late development as the result of the fact that such a science was unnecessary until after the lesser occultation.[1] Before this, either the Imams or their deputies interpreted the law. The period of the lesser occultation lasted from 869 to 940 A.D. Donaldson points out that the Sunni collections of traditions or hadith were compiled about one generation before those of the Shiʿites. The Shiʿite collections were made during the domination of the Caliphate by the Shiʿite Buwaiyhids—which period coincides with the beginning of the great occultation. It is these collections of hadith to which Professor Shahabi refers as the first works on jurisprudence, but in point of fact it would seem that the first major works devoted to the science of jurisprudence were those of ʿAllāma Ḥillī who died in 1325 A.D. Shahabi admits that Ḥillī went beyond his illustrious grandfather, Shaikh Ṭūsī, in admitting ijtihād or independent judgment. However the study of *uṣūl* may have developed in this period, it was not yet accorded the importance of the study of hadith at the end of the Safavid period when the second Majlisī who died in 1699 A.D., was the outstanding theologian. Furthermore, Shahabi indicates that the *uṣūlīs* overcame the opposition of the *akhbārīs*, or those who preferred hadith, in Kerbela as late as the beginning of the nineteenth century; and we can guess that the *uṣūlīs* did not establish themselves and their views until the latter part of the century. Burujirdī, the late leader of the Shiʿite ulama of Iran, was reputed to have followed a jurisprudential method akin to that of Shaikh Ṭūsī, so that he was by no means a convinced and thorough *uṣūlī*.

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[1] M. Shahabi, *Taqrirat-i Usul* (Tehran, 1335 H.), p. xxxviii,

What conclusions can we draw from this controversy between those who preferred to rely on the traditions reporting the judgments of the infallible Imams and those who preferred to supply the ulama with a jurisprudential theory that would permit them to make new interpretations as might the living but hidden Imam? This entire subject has not been sufficiently studied, but I believe it tenable that even today many of the Shiʿite ulama fear losing the authority of the Imams should they venture far beyond their explicitly recorded statements. The *uṣūlīs*, on the other hand, are far more aware of the pressures of recent social and political change and fear worse the relegation of Islamic law to a relatively minor position. At the present time no influential alim rejects the *uṣūlī* position in its entirety; but there are not many religious revolutionaries among the Shiʿite ulama. The *akhbārī* position assures the ulama of the infallible authority of the Imams while the *uṣūlī* position affords the ulama a method of approximating that authority while adapting Islamic law to new situations.

The four sources of Sunni law are the Koran, the hadith, the consensus of the Community and analogical deduction. In this system, there is no room for independent judgment or *ijtihād*, and reason is to be used within the narrow confines of strict analogy. Independent judgment according to the spirit of the explicit law was the prerogative of the early founders of the four orthodox schools alone. The ulama of subsequent ages must accept their authority according to their choice of school. Acceptance of such authority is known as taqlid and its corollary is the closure of the gate of *ijtihād*. The four sources of Shiʿite law are the Koran, hadith of the Prophet and the Imams, consensus of the Imams, rather than of the Community, and reason. Reason is not the equivalent of *ijtihād* for certain judgments will be found to be logically necessary. For the rest, however, *ijtihād* in one form or another is the expression of this principle. Once again we find the Shiʿite ulama enjoying authority superior to that of the Sunni ulama in that they are either speaking with the infallibility of the Imams or rendering judgments with an authenticity parallel to that of the founders of the Sunni schools.

Historical circumstances as well as both doctrine and jurisprudential theory have served to enhance the position of the Shiʿite ulama. Prior to the establishment of the Safavid empire in 1500 A.D., there was no extensive or long lasting twelver-Shiʿite sovereignty established anywhere in Islam. The other branches of Shiʿism, such as the Zaidis in Yemen, the Ismaʿilis, or the Fatimid Caliphate of medieval Egypt, all enjoyed the immediate presence of a living Imam which reduced the status of the ulama. The early Safavids also claimed the Imamate according to Professors Minorsky and Lambton, but the former has presented some evidence to show that this view was accepted only by an elite tribal formation. [1] Professor Lambton offers a good deal of evidence to show that under the late Safavids and throughout the Qajar period, the twelver ulama predominated and were able to suppress to some extent the sufi or mystic tendencies which made such extreme claims by the early Safavids possible. [2] In any event, it is obvious that the Shiʿite ulama were well established and identified with the Imam long before there was a political leader who needed to justify his office by reference to Shiʿite doctrines. For the Sunni ulama the opposite was the case.

The Shiʿite ulama of Iran were then built up into an effective organization with the help of the Safavids as part of the latter's campaign to convert the whole of Iran to Shiʿism. To some extent this organization was recognized and authorized by royal appointment of the qadis and of the *ṣadr* or leading alim. The breakdown of central authority toward the end of the Safavid period, and the invasion of the Sunni Afghans which followed, the chaotic conditions under the short lived Afshar and Zand dynasties, and the foreign wars of the early Qajars all tended to enhance the position of the ulama. During those times, the ulama served as a stabilizing influence in the provincial towns, sometimes even negotiating with attacking warlords, and they were essential to the mobilization of the Iranian military forces.

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[1] V. Minorsky, ed., *Tadhkirat al-Mulūk* (London, 1943).

[2] A. K. S. Lambton, "Quis Custodiet Custodes," *Studia Islamica*, V, VI (1956).

On the latter point, de Gobineau as opposed to Sir William Jones, thinks that they were not very effective, but he was not an eye-witness. [1] Their degree of success does not appear to be as crucial as the fact that they were charged with the task and some religious leaders of the time discussed the conditions under which the ulama might legitimately help the government in this way.

The early Qajars generally met the requirements for religious support, but the later ones had their difficulties as they encouraged Western innovations. The influence of the ulama in more recent times is, therefore, best evidenced by their opposition to the ruling power. Such influence can be attested by an examination of the Tobacco Régie incident of 1891, the Constitutional Movement of 1906, the role of Mudarris and others in the Majlis up to the late 1920's, Reza Shah's failure to establish a republic in 1924, the role of the ulama in the drawing up of the civil code of Iran under Reza Shah, Ayatullah Kashani's activity during the Musaddiq period, the Baha'i affair of 1955, and even the 1963 outbreaks against the Shah's reform program.

What is the more remarkable about this continued position of influence is the fact that the Shiʿite ulama have not been challenged in their religious authority in any manner approximating that in which the Sunni ulama of neighboring countries have been. The crisis in modern Islamic thought has found its classic statement in Sir Hamilton Gibb's lectures afterwards published under the title, *Modern Trends in Islam.* [2] For that work he drew upon the writings of C. C. Adams on Egypt and W. C. Smith on India and Pakistan. This material is much too extensive to be reviewed here, but it may be useful to state that nearly all modernist movements are critical of the Sunni ulama and their traditional Islam. Nearly all of them reject taqlid and would alter the application of the doctrine of consensus. Above all, they would take from the ulama the exclusive right to interpret Islamic law, and incidentally usurp their proprietorship over the symbols of Islam. Nationalist and secularist movements have joined with the chorus of modernists, apologists, fundamentalists and romantics in denouncing the pretensions of the ulama. "The doctrine of Taqlid," they assert, "has stultified science and the arts in the East." "There is no priesthood in Islam," they remind the ulama. "The distorted interpretations of the ulama have withheld from

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[1] Comte de Gobineau, *Trois Ans en Asie*, II (Paris, 1922), 15 ff.

[2] Chicago, 1947.

Muslim women the equality which is justly theirs," and so on. In more practical terms the influence of the ulama has declined, their educational functions have been restricted, and their judicial functions have been all but eliminated. Ulama control over, and income from, pious endowments have been reduced and their prestige has fallen among the urban classes. They have become increasingly dependent upon the government of the day.

This development has not been nearly so severe in Iran. One inconclusive illustration is a brief article by Professor Shahabi which is contained in Kenneth Morgan's book, *Islam, The Straight Path.* If I remember correctly, that is the only article which was not written by a modernist. Why was it that when Professor Morgan turned up in Tehran he was sent to Mr. Shahabi instead of to some modernist who might present a view of Islam which is more amenable to Western readers? The answer is probably that there are no outstanding and articulate Shiʿite modernists. Many of the pressures under which the Sunni ulama presently labor are prevalent in Iran. There is secularism, communism, and nationalism. Nor do the ulama any longer dominate the educational and legal systems. Pious endowments are also under loose government control. Nevertheless, it is significant that no powerful opposition movements have risen against the ulama. Insofar as religious movements exist they are essentially traditional.

The Fidayan-i Islam were a very small group and they were not completely dissociated from the ulama. The Baha'i movement does not seem to pose a serious threat, though its adherents are a tightly knit and vigorous community. The Shaikhi movement is localized in Kerman and does not seem to be growing. The sufi brotherhoods pose no challenge for most do not appear to be serious religious movements anymore. The late Professor Sangalaji's group would seem never to have had real vitality; and even Kasravi's religious reform movement has petered out, though his writings are still published and they are still the most violent statement of religious opposition to traditional Shiʿism.[1]

The lack of a more articulate opposition is a greater paradox for the fact that the Shiʿite ulama were so badly treated under the previous regime of Reza Shah. How are we to explain this? One of the explanations most frequently met with is that Iran is more backward than other Middle Eastern countries, hence secularism is not as far advanced. This argument has all the earmarks of circularity, so we shall leave it there. Some other possibilities do present themselves, however. One is the fact that the major religious shrines of Shiʿite Islam are at Najaf and Kerbela in Southern Iraq. During Reza Shah's reign the leading ulama removed themselves thence and the traditional schools or madrasas of Iraq quite overshadowed those of Qumm and Mashhad at that time. Another reason may be that modernism was expressed in Sunni terms which were inapplicable to the ulama of Iran. Especially important in these expressions were the reinterpretation of the doctrine of consensus, the insistence upon reopening the gate of *ijtihād*, and the glorification of the early Caliphate. None of these apply to Shiʿite Islam—a factor which helps to account for the curious Sunni orientation of the key modernist writer, Saiyid Amir Ali, who was a Shiʿite. Modernist thought was also communicated in languages which were not widely read even by the intelligentsia in Iran. Another reason may be that anti-Sunni expressions of nationalism are not appropriate to Iran where Shiʿism itself is as important to the nationalist differentia as is the Persian language. The fact that Iran did not undergo a colonial experience nor even a prolonged occupation has also militated against the more rapid creation of anti-traditional groups. Further reasons are to be found in the government's desire for religious legitimacy and its support of the ulama against the threat of Communism; which, it must be admitted, was more severe in Iran than elsewhere in the Middle East.

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[1] There are still many followers of Kasravi to be found in Iran, but only a few are organized. Kasravi's most outspoken attack on traditional Shiʿism is to be found in his *Shiagari*, published also in an Arabic translation.

We come now to the formal institutional organization of the ulama of Iran. As pointed out earlier, the problem of describing the formal status-roles of the ulama is a most difficult one for there is, in theory, no formal organization. We should rather speak of institutionalized, but informal, organizational characteristics as opposed to non-institutionalized practices or behavior frequently found among the ulama. This distinction is not an easy one to make. Over 150 years ago, Sir John Malcolm correctly assessed the situation:

> It is not easy to describe persons who fill no office. receive no appointment, who have no specific duties, but who are called, from their superior learning, piety, and virtue, by the silent but unanimous suffrage of the inhabitants of the country in which they live, to be their guides in religion, and their protectors against the violence and oppression of their rulers, and who receive from those by whose feeling they are

> elevated a respect and duty which lead the proudest of kings to join the popular voice, and to pretend, if they do not feel, a veneration for man who has attained this sacred rank. [1]

Malcolm's statement seems somewhat idealistic in these times when the ulama have lost much prestige, but it is further idealistic because it accepts the relative invisibility of the power relations among the ulama as the equivalent of the non-existence thereof.

As we have seen, it is illegitimate to apply the basic concepts of group theory to institutional groups in an undifferentiated manner. In the institutional group, dynamic structures of power relations interpenetrate with a system of status-roles that are either rationally or ideologically determined. Regardless of whether these two, that is rational and ideological determinations can be distinguished, their effect is not to control behavior absolutely, but to establish norms against which the behavior of the individuals can be judged. To the extent that any member of the institutional group behaves in accordance with these norms, we may say that he has internalized certain institutional values. Since institutional membership comprises neither the whole of an individual's experience nor the total weight of the normative expectations others may have of him, we can further assume some conflict between the institutional ethos and individual behavior. The individuals who are subject to these conflicting pressures will resolve their dilemma in diverse ways; and, presumably, careful study of any institutional group will reveal certain patterns of behavior which can be categorized as permissible or expected deviations, including stereotyped rationalizations.

In applying this simple scheme to the ulama, we run into some complicated problems. In the first place, the goals of the organization are of a very different nature from those ordinarily considered in organization theory. Usually, one can derive certain logical organizational consequences from any constellation of institutional goals, or one may with less validity accept the notion that there are certain absolute principles of organization which must be observed regardless of general goals. In this situation we must accept the fact that the institutional norms of the ulama expressly deny any organization whatsoever. Furthermore, these goals are not adjusted to what it may be instrumentally possible to achieve through an organization. This is especially the case with Shiʿite Islam which has not completely overcome the effects of long centuries in opposition.

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[1] Sir John Malcolm, *History of Persia*, II, 443 (London, 1815).

Our second problem is, then, how to discover the actual institutional norms of this organization. It is by now obvious that the ulama must be carefully distinguished from the two other important institutional groups in the Middle East, the military and the bureaucracy. These groups are not only limited by explicit rules, but their systems of rules are comprehensive—in the Middle East at times more than comprehensive. The ulama have neither explicit nor comprehensive rules. The rules which do appear to be acknowledged arise out of Shiʿite theology and legal theory, that is to say they may be logically derived from these two sources. These rules can be discovered by an examination of expressed attitudes toward observable patterns of ulama organization. The method pursued was simply to list a variety of possible organizational categories and to discuss these with key informants. The results seemed to fall into three major categories: 1) approved organizational patterns; 2) patterns which seemed to receive neutral and factual comment; and 3) patterns which aroused embarrassment, ridicule, or hostility toward the interviewer or toward all or part of the ulama.

None of these three categories are bodies of official rules, but the first does contain patterns which are essential to the maintenance of the doctrinal unity of the ulama and the maintenance of traditional learning. The second contains the equivalent of those patterns that might be considered essential to the maintenance of any organization. Far from any rational concern with efficiency, these patterns are informal and implicit. They are important indicators of the independence of the ulama and the degree of organizational efficiency with which they can pursue specific goals. The limited evidence at hand indicates, contrary to what might be expected, that there is little displacement of interest from the general institutional goals upon these instrumental goals. The third category of deviations can be further subdivided into those which are condoned and those which are not. Those which are condoned, even with some embarrassment, are actually based upon the haphazard effect of primary group affiliations within the institution. These affiliations should not be confused either with the organizational patterns which are of neutral effect nor with primary group affiliations which cut across institutional boundaries. The latter are not condoned when they have any political activities, especially of an opportunistic sort. Somewhere between the two, that is, moderately condemned, might be the acceptance of official positions of religious relevance from the government.

Time will not permit a generous fleshing out of this skeleton, so I shall elaborate on some of the more important details and simply list others. As to the general goals of the institution, these include maintenance of the unity of the Shiʿite community, providing both individuals and the political authorities with religious guidance to the end that all may achieve the maximum benefit both in this world and in the next. Welfare in this world, while important, is definitely secondary to salvation in the next.

Acknowledged patterns of organizations are few. The most significant relates to the position of the Āyatullāh al-ʿUẓmā. This position is held by the one who is considered to be the most learned of the age and whose piety is also above question. In strict accordance with the generally accepted definition of religious roles, the Āyatullāh al-ʿUẓmā is the equivalent of any mujtahid, that is any one whose learning has reached the stage where he is capable of making independent judgments. Any Muslim seeking guidance will usually attach himself to a mujtahid from whom he will regularly receive religious advice. A mujtahid with such a following is known as *marjiʿ taqlīd.* A follower is known as a *muqallid.* To have a wider following, a mujtahid must publish a book expounding his method and views so that they can be accessible to people in other cities. It is through the mujtahids, referred to in the constitution of Iran as the "proofs of Islam," that the general agency of the Imam is carried out. While any mujtahid may give guidance on religious problems, it is acknowledged that they differ in learning if not in piety. In accordance with the Shiʿite insistence that the Caliphate must go to the one who is best qualified rather than to any one of those sufficiently qualified, there is much prejudice in favor of following the one mujtahid who is acknowledged as the most learned. Until his recent death, Āyatullāh Burujirdī was acknowledged to be the Āyatullāh al-ʿUẓmā. This acknowledgment was not universal, and some tended to recognize him merely as the head of the ulama in an organizational sense. The key question in this regard is whether the mujtahid interviewed believes that the general agency is carried out by all the ulama or by the Āyatullāh al-ʿUẓmā. Burujirdi's supporters came close to representing him as the sole spokesman for the hidden Imam.

While not the apex of a hierarchy, this leadership position does rest on a foundation of subordinate positions. As might be expected from the fact that learning is the key to this office, the supporting framework of roles is based on the traditional educational system to some extent. Ulama tend to be classified in accordance with the stages of learning they have attained, but not in accordance with the number of years they have spent at a madrasa. Other offices coincide with the roles of teaching, preaching, reciting stories of the Imams, serving as *pishnamaz* or in other capacities at mosques, and ministering to the religious needs of villagers.

In the category of neutral organizational prerequisites, we find elaborate, if informal patterns of finance, communication, recruitment, succession to leadership and household administration of the Āyatullāh al-ʿUẓmā. While all of these present interesting problems, the most significant for our purposes are the financing of the institution and the succession to leadership. The ulama are supported by contributions from the faithful. These contributions are given the names of the canonical payments of *khums* or *zakāt*, that is, the share of the Imam or alms. Actually these sums are to be used for general religious purposes including charitable payments to the indigent. In this way, the ulama are the agents for the disposition of these funds, most of which go to support educational institutions, students, teachers, and ulama of all sorts. The local mujtahid, *pishnamaz*, or village mulla are supported by their local adherents for the most part. A *vaʿez* or *rozah khwan*[1] is often paid by the job. Another source of income is from waqfs or pious endowments in the profit from land and buildings. These endowments are usually set aside for religious purposes including education, hospitals, charity, and assistance to travellers; but some of these funds are used to help *ṭullāb* (or students), teachers, and other ulama. Each waqf is managed by a mutawalli who is often a mulla. The mutawalli receives a share of the income for his own expenses. Often when the mutawalli is not a mulla, a nazir or supervisor is appointed who is a mulla. Beyond these sources of income ulama may engage in any economic pursuit quite apart from their calling. There are, however, relatively few in the bazaar, even at Qumm; but many more have considerable landholdings acquired by inheritance, marriage, or even the usurpation of waqfs.

The most important basis of organizational finance is still the *khums* and *zakat*. Its importance is directly related to the fact that its payment is based upon acknowledgment of the role of the mujtahids; that is, the believers pay their religious dues to the mujtahid whom they follow or to his representative. Of course, many individuals may give funds to more than one mujtahid; but the important thing is that quite substantial sums of money were paid to representatives of Burujirdi. Some of this money is sent to Qumm to support that city's scholars and the rest may be spent in the city where it was collected. Even though many ranks of the ulama receive their incomes independently of this *khums-zakat* system, many will make an occasional trip to Qumm where they may pay their respects to the Āyatullāh al-ʿUẓmā, possibly receiving some subvention if they are in need. Smaller replicas of the same system are built about other important or locally influential mujtahids, and many village mullas are dependent upon the important mujtahid of the nearest town for financial assistance. The waqf system is no longer an organizational basis of finance, though it is the claim of the ulama that the most learned or *aʿlam* ought to have the right to appoint the mutawalli whenever there is no specific agent appointed in the *waqfnameh*.

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[1] The *va'ez* or *rozah khwan* usually preaches and specializes in reciting the history of the martyrdom of the imams.

Succession to leadership depends on many factors, but the most important of them all is learning. Still, other qualities are taken into consideration. According to one source, the following are important: *taqwā* (piety), *mardumdāri* (knowing how to deal with people), *mudīr būdan* (administrative ability), *ustād* (be a teacher), *risāla* (have written a book), he must be an older man, he must be of Fars and not an Arab or a Turk, in addition to having great erudition. There is no formal method of choosing the Āyatullāh al-ʿUẓmā, but it would seem that a relatively small group of some thirty or forty persons, most of whom reside at Qumm, perform the function of the College of Cardinals by acknowledging the leadership of someone. To the insiders, these are known as *ra'īs tarash* (sculptors of the head) or marji' dorostkun (creators of the following).[1] This group is partially comprised of *Ayatullahzadegan* or the descendants of once famous and learned mujtahids and partially of the leading teachers at Qumm. Certain merchants are important, as is the influential Ayatullah Behbahani in Tehran, and a small group of *muballighīn* or propagandists who are not mujtahids but preachers.

Our third category dealt with deviations which are condoned, moderately condemned, and vigorously condemned. Those that are condoned arise out of organizationally based primary group affiliations. These affiliations depend upon the madrasa at which, and the teachers with whom, the alim studied. They may be based on his theological or legal tendency. The most important of these are the *uṣūlī* and *akhbārī*, but there are the near heresy of Shaikhism, varieties of mystic tendencies, attachments to special interpretative techniques, or to specific interpretations, and even subject matter leanings such as the opposition between teachers of divine philosophy and teachers of traditions. Other bases of primary group affiliation depend upon geographical region of origin, linguistic differences, kinship among the ulama, informal cliques, and the sub-institutional independence of certain mosques and schools. The most significant of these differences, approaching the magnitude of a dichotomizing distinction, is the combined geographical, linguistic, and school cleavage between Turk and Fars, that is, between Azeri and Persian speaking ulama. Azerbaijanis often make their *khums* and zakat payments through Saiyid Qazem Shariat al-Madar of Tabriz.

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[1] These titles were given with some embarrassment and caused no little mirth among some of those listening in during the interview.

There are many, many more interesting details to relate concerning these groupings, but we shall have to be satisfied here with just one further perspective of the problem which is typically Persian and indicative of the ethos of this institution. One intelligent informant suggested the following list of factors bearing upon whether an alim might enjoy exceptional prestige both within and without the ulama: participation of himself or an ancestor in the constitutional movement; family connection with a learned or famous mujtahid; knowledge, especially of the sort that permits him to answer questions quickly by the technique of *istinbāṭ*; the writing of a *risāla*; teaching at a madrasa; having a large number of students; having a large number of followers; having great wealth; having a position at an important mosque; being eloquent; and so on.

Moderately condemned are associations which tend to divide the ulama; those which depend upon financial, social, or kinship relations with non-ulama, or those which depend upon government appointments. Government appointments are often looked upon as part of a wide conspiracy to supercede the long tradition which is sustained by less rational forms of organization and to subvert the independence which sometimes permits the ulama to set limits to government action. Government appointments further deny the thesis that it is the ulama who must guide the government and determine its legitimacy.

In general, we may say that certain types of political involvement are condemned. It is not so much the mere relations with non-ulama which is so embarrassing, but rather the exploitation of the relationships in order to influence some government decision which has no relevance to the general goals of the religious institution. It is not surprising that the ulama, as we have done in our analysis, tend to equate the interests of their institution with the interests of what they consider to be the true Islam. It is, therefore, difficult to distinguish between political activity which is aimed at benefitting ulama and that which is directed at achieving their institutional goals. Even the ulama are not precise in this. Instead of specifying the kind of acts which are to be deplored, they tend to classify persons. There are two kinds of ulama, they say, the religious ulama and the political.

The religious are usually low born, first or second generation mujtahids of great learning and piety who consider the government to be impious and who prefer to have as little to do with it as possible. The political ulama are usually of famous name and family, of little learning but of great reputation, they have considerable access to wealth and they tend to equate political recognition of themselves with the establishment of Shiʿite Islam in Iran. These are the ones who accept government appointments, who visit the Shah on holidays, and who send him congratulatory telegrams or who turn up to welcome him when he visits the provinces. These will also exploit their positions as landowners, as mutawallis of waqfs, as relatives of noble families, and as members of influential cliques to get special favors from the government. The less influential political ulama may even become associated with political parties, while the least savory of them, Ayatullah Kashani, exploited his influence over certain devout bazaar groups and his position as leader in the *ʿĪd-i Qurbān* ceremonies to enhance his political position. This attitude is somewhat paradoxical since the ulama are, by their own doctrine, committed to political participation. Indeed, this doctrine is the justification used by the political ulama. If not for them, who would keep the government from reverting to the religious policies of Reza Shah and who would forestall Communism and secularism? Nevertheless, there are only a few exceptions to this condemnation of political activity.

Certain popular causes have become the specific justification of particular political acts. Those who themselves or whose parents were involved on the side of the constitutional movement are praised, as are some of those who sided with Musaddiq against the Shah. On the other hand, the well known mulla who became a fellow-traveller is regarded with some incredulity as a crack-pot; while those once associated with the Fidayan-i-Islam may be thought of as dangerous innovators. One may not go too far, then, except perhaps in agitating against the Baha'is. Areas of approved political activity of a low level of intensity are exemplified by the successful effort of the ulama to prevent a government sponsored demonstration marking the so-called emancipation of Persian women, or the continued demands for more influence in matters of education and in the administration of waqfs.

To be a government appointee is not in every case as bad as being a political alim. The group most condemned are those elected to the Majlis in recent years, the Imam-Jumʿeh, and some who were elected to serve on certain city councils. There is a tension rather than hostility between the religious ulama and those who teach religious subjects at the Faculty of Law, the Faculty of Philosophy and Theology, and the Sepah-Sālār Mosque. The reason for this moderate attitude is due to the fact that the government has not withdrawn its recognition of the Āyatullāh al-ʿUẓmā, hence the government employed religious teachers must be accommodative in their attitudes. The new institute for training preachers is, however, thoroughly condemned and even thought by some to be an American creation. The graduates of the first named schools usually find jobs with the Ministry of Education as teachers, the Ministry of Justice as judges, or the Ministry of War as chaplains. Their course of study is well defined, standards seem to be lower, but security and prestige seem to be higher for their graduates than for graduates of the schools at Qumm.

This summary treatment of the organization of the ulama points out some of their strengths. They enjoy much greater financial independence than do the ulama of any other Middle Eastern country. They have higher prestige derived from this financial basis as well as from their association with the influential aristocracy. They are united in theory, and no one will overtly challenge this theory. Despite their loose organization, institutional norms remain a powerful restraint upon gross deviations. Above all, they have managed by past association with popular causes and by present withholding of positive support for the government, to establish their independence of that government. They have also, on occasion, shown themselves capable of acting as an effective pressure group for institutional ends. The ulama of no other Middle Eastern country can say the same; not even that of Pakistan.

But this strength of the ulama is not what it was in Malcolm's day. The organization of the ulama is traditional and incapable of adjusting to the challenge of changed times without incurring a loss of influence of some detriment to their general goals. The pressure for rationalization is both internal and external. Younger ulama and *ṭullāb* realize that they are no longer on a par with the Westernized intelligentsia. Their learning is belittled, their behavior is ridiculed, their clothing is mocked, and all the best government jobs are closed to them. Their incomes are bound to be small unless they are related to the landed aristocracy. The ulama, both old and young are on the defensive. The younger ones seek internal reorganization: a set curriculum, formal examinations, formal degrees, and advancement through merit on the basis of fixed rules and requirements.

The government and Westernized intellectuals in the ministries are ashamed of the ulama, but the regime believes that it needs them to assure the loyalty of the masses. The government is, therefore, making tentative efforts to modernize the institution and to rationalize it while subordinating it to the administration. This is the pattern of treatment being meted out to all groups and especially traditionally oriented ones. But where the government has been unable to actually take over and manage these groups, it has established parallel ones. The products of the Faculty of Theology, of Sepah-Sālār and of the institute for training preachers is a beginning in this direction. The rationalization of other groups such as the guilds and the bazaar, though not far along, is bound to have a bad effect on the ulama for here are major sources of their financial support. Should a revolutionary reform encompass real land redistribution and complete government administration of waqfs, the ulama will be compelled to surrender their organization to the government and greatly to restrict their sphere of interest.

The handwriting is on the wall, but how long will it take? One alim told me, not denying our thesis, that "this head will wear a turban for 300 years yet." It was clearly a pessimistic statement. For the time being, however, the general opinion is that the ulama have actually gained in influence since Reza Shah's abdication and again after Musaddiq's deposition. The explanation of this paradox lies in the difficulty of the present regime. While it would be a reforming and rationalizing regime, it has been so threatened by revolutionary forces, both nationalist and Communist that it dare not abandon its traditional support. Even the goal of rationalization, whether as an end in itself or as a means of achieving reform and development is dangerous. The Shah has no place in a rationalized system as Turkey, Egypt, and Iraq have shown. Out of this ambivalence arises the paradox of the coexistence of tradition and of political and administrative rationalism. From the extreme rationalizing point of view, the ulama can have no political role other than some minor tasks of propaganda that may be assigned to them by the government. Traditionally, however, their political role is great. It is the persistence of traditional aspects of the political system of Iran that lays the basis of the contemporary political role of the ulama as something more than a pressure group.

As a pressure group they seek those things that we have mentioned: control of education; of waqfs; of the judicial system; and they seek to prevent the trend to modernism and irreligion; to close the movie houses; to censor radio programs; to encourage attendance at mosques; to perpetuate the overlong list of religious holidays; to prevent the breaking of purdah; and to suppress heresy.

As the controllers of the symbols of Islam their role is much larger. They legitimize the regime, some by their silence, and others by open affirmation. They also legitimize the traditional social organization, by their interpretation of the sanctity of private property in Islam, by their own kinship connections, and by their own respect for the social distinctions which it implies. They are also the exponents of one among several competing ideologies, and hence supply a considerable number of Iranians with a referrent for their own identification and world view by which they hope to understand and to adjust to the rapid changes of these times.

In addition to these things the ulama act within the traditional sector of the Iranian political system as an important channel of access to traditional groups and for the uninfluential classes. They may, by their criticism or by direct but unpublicized approaches, act as a brake upon administrative operations, or even general policy. Finally, they may serve as propaganda mouthpieces for a variety of groups as well as for the government.

The preceding analysis has been lengthy, but all too brief for adequate treatment of this topic. More information is available but much more remains to be found out. In the meantime this peculiar, if not esoteric, subject requires some justification if only to encourage further work along the same lines. For this justification, I hope I am doing no more than the obvious in pointing to the relevance of the study of the changing role of the ulama to the whole issue of political development. For myself, at any rate, examination of the situation of this most traditional of all groups has lent much concreteness to the otherwise vague notions of modernization, rationalization, and political change. In concluding, it is perhaps not inappropriate to add that I have grown very fond of the ulama of Iran. The turban may grow smaller, but I hope that it will be worn for a longer period than the next 300 years.

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